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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

The past month has been crowded with events in the women's movement. Every form of activity which has been undertaken has grown considerably since the February number of VOTES FOR WOMEN went to press. There is so much to record that it has been found necessary to increase the present issue to 20 pages in order to find space for anything like adequate treatment.

The Women's Parliament.

By far the most important event of the month was the Women's Parliament, held in the Caxton Hall, February 11, 12, and 13, resulting in the arrest of 62 women who were determined to lay their case before the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. The second occasion on which the women started to carry out their mission they were led by Mrs. Pankhurst herself, and the deputation were particularly careful to avoid doing anything con-

trary to the instructions of the police, except that they refused to abandon their intention of going to the House of Commons.

Not a Police Row.

In spite of this mode of action on their part, the Government endeavoured to play once more their game of branding the women as police offenders, refusing to admit the political nature of their breach of the law; but this trick of the Government is beginning now to be understood by the people of the country. On page 92 of this issue we give an extract from "Vanity Fair," in which the position is made abundantly clear in the editorial notes of that paper.

Treatment in Prison.

People up and down the country are also beginning to thoroughly understand the nature of the imprisonment to which the women are subjected, though they themselves have not protested against it. In the early days of the movement it was thought that the women were sent to a kind of comfortable retirement where they had almost everything they wanted and could see their friends and have books, newspapers, &c. This was, in fact, the kind of treatment which men political prisoners have always received. But the desire of the Government to treat them as street rowdies obliged them to put women into a very different position. And various articles which have appeared in the Press have made it clear that life in prison for the women is an exceedingly hard one, solitary confinement for 23 hours out of the 24, and the most rigorous discipline being enforced. Now that these two cardinal facts are beginning to be understood, the Liberal Government—and the Home Secretary in particular—are learning that their action is not approved of by men and women of the country. On February 24 the "Daily Mail," in its leading article contained the following:—

On Friday, too, another awkward question will be raised in a Bill which is to be privately brought forward on behalf of the women Suffragists. If there are some Ministerialists and Labour members who are hostile to women's suffrage, there are thousands of Liberals in the country who do not approve of the way in which the Suffragists have been treated. This treatment has contributed, with the other events of the last few weeks . . . to weaken the prestige of the Government. The present is plainly not a time at which the Ministry can afford to estrange electors by the thousand or to provoke new and formidable enmities.

And similar remarks are beginning to be made in the Press in other places. It is surely a curious irony that the name of the man who in his own time stood all over the world for the enlargement of liberty should be associated in the person of his son with the incarceration of women seeking only political justice.

Self-Denial Week.

The unjust imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst has given an enormous impetus to the movement everywhere. The Self-Denial Week organised by the National Women's Social

and Political Union has been an unparalleled success, and accounts of the various ways which women have adopted in order to raise money for the cause have been given in all the daily papers. Many people who have taken a special interest in this week have been celebrated authors who have sent books, with autograph inscriptions, for sale:—Beatrice Harraden, May Sinclair, Violet Hunt, Evelyn Sharp, Mr. J. H. Cousins, Mabel Dearmer, Mr. Pett Ridge, Father Adderley, Rev. John Hunter, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. Moreton Hall, Mr. E. V. Lucas, Rev. R. J. Campbell, and others. A friendly Member of Parliament also denied himself during the week by smoking no cigars—a great deprivation to him—as a mark of his sympathy with the cause. The Self-Denial Week forms the subject of a special article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on page 95, but the full amount which has been raised in this week will not be disclosed until the great meeting in Albert Hall on March 19.

Additional Staff.

Consequent upon the great amount of the additional interest which is being taken in Women's Suffrage and in the N.W.S.P.U. in particular, it has been found necessary again to increase the office staff, which now numbers over 15 persons, in addition to 15 outside organisers. In fact, since the end of the year, on an average, an additional member has been added either to the indoor or outdoor staff of the Union each week.

The N.W.S.P.U. at Home.

Another interesting indication of the growing interest which is taken in the movement has been the success of the "At Homes" held every Monday afternoon by the N.W.S.P.U. Originally the offices of the Union were open to accommodate the friends who cared to come and hear the news of the progress of the movement week by week; but at the beginning of last month it was found that accommodation could not be provided for the people who wanted to be present, as the large rooms of the offices were not capable of seating more than 150 people. Recourse was therefore had to the small Portman Rooms, which seat about 400; but so rapidly was the interest taken up, that after two weeks it was found necessary to make a further move to the large Portman Rooms, and on the last two occasions between 500 and 600 people have been present.

Features of the Paper.

The messages of encouragement to women appearing in this issue on page 79, are from Elizabeth Robins, the celebrated dramatist, who is a member of the committee of the N.W.S.P.U.; from Constance Smedley, the well-known authoress, whose clever book "Woman—a Few Shrieks," has been so widely read; from May Sinclair, the authoress, who was one of the special collectors in Kensington during Self-Denial Week; and from Mrs. Macdonald, well known

to all members of the Union as a keen and active supporter of our movement. Among other special features is an interesting and amusing article by Mona Caird, on an imaginary argument with Pooh Bah. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the tactics of the Union. The Women's Parliament is described as fully as space permits; and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst carries the account of the history of the suffrage agitation a further stage.

By-Election.

A page is devoted to the account of the by-elections which have taken place during February. Analysing these, it will be noticed that the Liberal poll has been reduced by an aggregate number of 2,000 votes. Ever since the Mid-Devon election the action of the women has attracted attention at these elections, and however much Liberals may refuse to acknowledge the importance of the part women play, there is beginning to be an uncomfortable feeling at the bottom of their minds that all is not well with them, and that their failure is due in large measure to their opposition to the women's cause.

Press Extracts.

On pages 92 and 93 will be found a number of quotations from the Press which have appeared at various times during February. Space alone prevents us from including a special number of important extracts, which are now so numerous that it is almost impossible to pick up any paper of the day, whether daily, weekly, or monthly, in which important references to the subject are not made.

To New Readers.

In the form in which it appears in this number VOTES FOR WOMEN is issued as a *monthly* newspaper, and contains articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy is charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publications) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly VOTES FOR WOMEN is *not* published a special four-page sheet is issued containing all the principal news of the movement—an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be known as the *Votes for Women Supplement*,* and will be sold for ½d. (by post 1d.).

In the course of the year there will be twelve monthly numbers of the paper, and forty weekly supplements. Subscribers will be able to obtain the paper either through their newsagents, or through local W.S.P.U.'s, or by post direct from the offices of the paper, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s.

* The Supplements to the present March number will accordingly be issued on March 5, March 12, March 19, March 26, and the April number will be ready on April 1.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

MY DEAR EDITORS,—I have been here just six days, and I grasp at the first opportunity of keeping my promise. I think I cannot do better than make my message the saying of another—one of the most considerate English women I have known. She had done little travelling herself, and being generous in her appreciation of others, I was surprised to hear her make light of some much-vaunted long journey that another woman, known to us both, had accomplished in safety. The reason, my friend said, that any of us were afraid, even in remote or barbarous places, was that we underestimated women's strength and overestimated men's. "A woman who keeps her wits about her can give a very good account of herself; even at the worst." The lady in question was, to be sure, an uncommonly fine specimen herself, and may have overlooked the fact that we are not all possessed of even such vigour as Nature intended to bestow. But I have come to share her view, and I commend it to my fellow-women: that, granting man's superior advantages, a woman in straits can (if she has disciplined her nerves and does not underestimate her powers) make herself so very inconvenient a creature to tackle, that the enterprise will lose most of its allure. I think my friend's doctrine holds just as true with respect to contention on higher grounds. We weaken ourselves by imagining ourselves weak. We are strong—I had almost said invincible—as soon as we have cast out fear.

Elizabeth Robins.

There are two things that must win respect for any cause: courage and endurance. Those who denounced your first efforts as hysterical are learning the difference between hysteria and enthusiasm. The continuance of such zeal is the most unexpected development in your campaign. It is assuming the aspect of a national revolution, which draws together and harmonises every form of human temperament. So vast and passionate is the desire for freedom, that, impelled by it, the individual can rise above the limitations of her egoism, and sink her prejudices in her aspirations.

Nothing to me is more significant than the way in which the usual restraining circumstances of age, position, education, which differentiate the house-woman so inexorably, have melted and proved of no essential consequence in the mustering and conducting of your forces, and even more significant is the way in which the far greater divisions of race and country are being swept aside by the wave of the woman movement. It is sweeping through Europe.

Best of all, you are fighting with good humour; cheerfulness and hope are the most spirited of leaders. For too long the cause of woman has been hampered by despair and bitterness. You have come with flying banners and thundering drums and gallant bearing; you have trained your daughters to take part in the struggle, and they bring the freshness and the spirit of their youth; the daring of youth, also, that can hurl itself with a light heart at any obstacle, because it has never known defeat.

The pluck! The enormous pluck! That is the quality that first appealed to me when you invaded the pompous precincts of the "House," and faced what seemed impossible odds. You looked ridiculous then; only a few people understood the gigantic heroism which was needed for such action.

Now, you are still very fiercely reviled, still you are facing actual danger, but it is your opponents who are beginning to look comic. The henpecked husband is one of the most firmly-established butts of the English public.

Men are beginning to disown sex-kinship with the Liberal Government. The point is, will the Liberal Government stand being laughed at as serenely and good-humoredly as you did? Do they consider national ridicule "a good advertisement"? Are they as certain of the justice of their opposition as you are of the justice of your cause?

Constance Smedley.

I have been asked to send a "message" to the National Women's Social and Political Union. I do not know how far a "message" from an unpractical and uninstructed outsider will have any value. I can only say that it is impossible to be a woman and not admire to the utmost the devotion, the courage, and the endurance of the women who are fighting and working for the Suffrage to-day. And I am glad and honoured to have this opportunity of recording my whole-hearted sympathy with them and with their aims.

May Sinclair.

Some fairly intelligent people seem to think the demand for the enfranchisement of woman is a war of the sexes. Her demand is responsibility which will fit her for her work in the world. Her training, her education, should not be handicapped. She should be encouraged to reach the most ambitious pinnacle. No one can deny the boy needs an expert mother if his feet are to be placed on the step of the ladder which ascends to success. The irresponsible youth, with no enthusiasm, no ambition, no real knowledge of self-preservation, one meets everywhere. For the sake of the betterment of the race women should have political freedom. The power which the vote will give them will enable them to stand alone. Self-reliant responsible citizens, and to those under their care, they are bound to transmit this subtle mental stimulus. What more valuable asset can we have than independence and courage?

In this struggle for existence, where men and women meet either for companionship or marriage, surely equality in courage, in knowledge, and in intelligent sympathy is necessary for success and happiness.

We cannot afford to ignore our duty to those working for the enfranchisement of women. Its consequences are too far-reaching. Every woman who has to earn her living must get a sufficient wage; not one which will wreck her constitution in the struggle. It is not economy. To ignore such waste is culpable. The nation's security depends on this ill-paid, underfed, being's progeny. If any woman will sacrifice her time and money to help this cause she will get back huge interest for it. A campaign carried on by women actuated by the highest motives, striving to make the world happier for all, is elevating, and worth associating oneself with. Leave your own happy little world for an hour or two a day, you women who can afford it, and come and help.

Mary D. Macdonald.

AN ARGUMENT WITH POOH BAH.

By MONA CAIRD

To discuss the subject of women's emancipation with the ordinary opponent who echoes traditional sentiment, produces the baffling sense of being transported into a world of comic opera, where it becomes one's fantastic fate to try to reason with the "Mikado" or "Pooch Bah" or the "Pirates of Penzance." Sometimes it is even more bewildering, and one finds oneself stumbling in helpless conflict with the dialectical ingenuity of the mad hatter or the mock turtle.

Yet to the majority (as to "Pooch Bah" and the mad hatter) nothing comic is to be discerned; they are, so to speak, on their native heath. They live solemnly in a comic opera kingdom, ruled by comic statesmen on strictly representative principles, whose main feature is that they are not the least representative.

The comic statesmen, at loggerheads on all other points, agree enthusiastically about this. Representation, the basis of men's liberties, and—rightly interpreted—the basis of woman's subordination! A most excellent institution, to be defended at all costs.

Statesmen, law-givers, plenipotentiaries, all the high magnificences and serenities of this grotesque realm, break into a lively dance, joined by a troupe of pillars-of-the-State, and a picturesque stage crowd representing the great heart of the British public. And all loudly express their sentiments in an exhilarating chorus.

And we all know what those sentiments are. The general crowd relies for its staple argument on the exhortation to "go 'ome and mind the biby."

The Pooch Bahs (a numerous class with a stuffy bourgeois soul) meet the case more loftily. But the thought is the same.

"The woman's sphere is the home." "Is, then, the man's sphere the polling-booth?" heretics are impelled to inquire.

But Pooch Bah does not see the inference. Seeing inferences is not his strong point. He merely hangs on to the "sphere" without budging.

"Must the owner of a vote pass his entire existence in the precincts of the ballot-box?" inquires the innovator, still hopeful.

Pooch Bah, without relaxing his hold on the "sphere," says, no, of course not, but men are men and women are women, a statement which derives its shattering force from the fact that nobody dreams of disputing it.

Basking in the effulgence of its axiomatic certainty, Pooch Bah remains solidly unaware that if his argument regarding the "sphere" has any validity at all, it implies that a voter ought to make voting the vocation of a lifetime; and so, if really applied, it would summarily disfranchise the entire human race.

The comic statesmen solemnly point out that women are ruled by impulse.

"Whereas the gentlemen who express their convictions by means of crackers and malodorous chemicals at public meetings are actuated by the lofty attitude of Reason."

"But of what avail is irony with the reigning gods?"

"It is their decree that a small property qualification shall give a man the right to a voice in his country's destinies, be he moved by reason, or impulse, or prejudice, or anything under heaven—including the aid of supporting friends in case of circumstances over which he has no control; whereas a woman must scale the dizzy heights of human achievement before her claims to full human rights can be even considered."

"Why this stern intellectual and moral test in the case of one sex only?"

The comic statesman explains:—

"There might arise some grave national crisis wherein women's influence (other than of the secret and irresponsible kind) would be disastrous." (The implication is that men's influence could never be disastrous.)

"Moreover," adds Pooch Bah, conclusively, "there must be a head in every household. A wife with a vote would mean wrangling and strife in the sacred precincts of home."

"My wife and I are one, and I am the one," quotes Irony, losing courage.

"A wife might actually vote contrary to the convictions of her husband," cries Pooch Bah, aghast.

Irony gives it up after this, and Satire helplessly folds her hands.

If a man not only desires but does not hesitate to announce that he desires to be placed in a position of unfair advantage over his wife in the "sacred precincts," what is there left for Irony and Satire to do? The very bread is taken out of their mouths.

Peace maintained between a handcuffed and a free person; affectionate accord as the result of disabling one of them, and providing the other with Maxims, a few small bombs.

Caricature herself is reduced to beggary!

Yet these same men and women, who defend their creed by puerilities such as these, are not really devoid of intelligence or a sense of justice; that is the perplexing thing. On other subjects they may show themselves quite as human as human beings usually are, and of average sanity. In fact, some are of remarkable intellectual power.

What sudden calamity, then, has fallen upon them at the mere mention of the word *woman*? It is like the danger-word that converts some sweetly reasonable inmate of a madhouse to idiocy or fury.

Here, in fact, we find the clue to the problem: it is insanity that reveals itself in these infantile absurdities so familiar to us all; the hereditary insanity which afflicts mankind as a result of thousands upon thousands of years of dominance and subjection in the relations of men and women, with all the cruelty and madness which that implies. What it *does* imply can only be faintly realised after a study of human records from the earliest ages and those of savages to-day. The story is hideous and heart-breaking enough to make pessimists of the most devout believers in human nature; and it turns a tragic light upon the real nature of the observer, which has eaten its way into the very bone and nerves and fibre of the human organism.

It is not the expression of some minds and hearts that we listen to in these monotonous puerilities; the real minds and hearts of the speakers have no part in them at all. We are hearing only the phonographic utterances of a far past, the mechanical records of centuries of "suggestion."

To release the race—women at least as much as men—from the power of this "dead hand," this tremendous hypnotic force thousands of years old, is the task which a handful of pioneers have taken upon their brave shoulders; not counting the cost; and they only know how heavy that cost is!

May the gods of Beneficence and Justice bring their cause to a speedy triumph, and the suffering world another gigantic step forward in the path of progress.

THE TACTICS OF THE SUFFRAGETTES.

What They Are and What They Mean.

"If this had been a men's movement," said a police-constable outside Rochester-row Police-court to one of our members, "if this had been a men's movement, there would have been murder before now."

Judged by past and present events, in the light of human experience, this is a perfectly correct summing up of the position. When men are held down under laws which they have not made and which they have no power to change, then invariably there is revolt, and with men revolt means violence and bloodshed. Revolt means "murder."

Once the labourer was in the same position that women are to-day. He was without political or economic rights; he had to depend on the protection and the chivalry of his overlord. But by a long series of revolts, involving destruction of property and of life, reaching the great climax in the French Revolution, serfdom of man to man was abolished, and the principle of the political equality of men was proclaimed and established.

But ever and again despotism tightens its relaxed grasp upon the lives of men. How do men act then? We have not far to look for the answer. Constitutional rights are taken away in Portugal; a Dictator is set over the people. Those who protest are thrown into prison. It becomes a choice between political subjection or violence and outrage. "Anything rather than political slavery," says the champion of the people's rights. So the King and his innocent son are murdered. And what is the result? The Dictator is forced to leave the country. Political prisoners are set free; a Constitution is granted. At the cost of blood a victory for freedom is won.

That is the men's way of conducting a militant agitation. It is not the way of women.

The Way of Women.

Hitherto no alternative between slavish acceptance of tyranny and wrong and resistance by violence has seemed possible. It has been left to women to discover another alternative. The women's campaign is the first militant agitation carried on by any people wholly deprived of political rights, without violence, without injury to life or limb or property.

And yet no power was ever stronger than that which we have to fight. We have to deal with political tyranny backed by all "the powers that be." We are face to face with the strongest Government of modern times, and the strongest prejudice in human nature, aided by the press, the law, the police, and, as a last resource, the entire military strength of the country.

Now, political tyranny rests, and has always rested, on the ignorance, indifference, and apathy of the people. Its strength is in all negative things, in darkness, in concealment, in sloth, in silence, in oblivion. Therefore, the weapons of those who fight against political tyranny are light, exposure, action, truth, and perpetual remembrance.

The task which after more than forty years of futile agitation rapidly declining into slavish acceptance of women's subjection, we had to accomplish was to break down the conspiracy of silence on the part of politicians and pressmen, to expose the mean and unworthy subterfuges of Parliamentarians, to rouse the women of the country to action, to open the eyes of the general public to the injustice done in their name, and to keep our agitation continuously and persistently in the public mind.

To this end our tactics have been directed; our two

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

distinct methods of militant agitation are:—

1. Asking questions at the political meetings of Cabinet Ministers.
2. "Demonstrating" in Downing-street and Parliament-square.

Women, having no representative in the House of Commons, can only appeal to members of the Government. Cabinet Ministers will not meet them or give ear to their grievances. A Cabinet Minister is a public servant; his salary is paid by women taxpayers. To women, as well as to men, he comes on the public platform to give an account of his stewardship. Every political question he touches affects women as intimately and closely as it affects men. Voters can interpolate questions. Why not voteless women, who have no right of free speech through the ballot-box? We go to a Cabinet Minister's meeting to ask a question on the one subject which most deeply affects us, and underlies every other political reform.

This is the first method of drawing public attention to the political tyranny which exists towards women. It has succeeded beyond expectation because the enemy has played into our hands. To speak plainly, it is the imported stewards who make the uproar, not the women.

The Never Answered Question.

The Government representatives put themselves entirely in the wrong from the outset, when they allowed Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney to be thrown out of a political meeting for asking a perfectly proper question, at the right time and in the correct manner, and let them be imprisoned as disorderly persons.

There is nothing more insistent than the never answered question; nothing that so readily becomes the all-important question of the hour. It is not two women, but all the country, that to-day are demanding an answer from the Government.

The outcry against the "Demonstrations" is that they are silly, and bring ridicule on the cause. Ridicule is a searchlight, and as such is part of our armoury. It is feared only by the powers of darkness.

It is not only upon the suffragettes that ridicule falls. It falls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer escaping from his back door, upon the Cabinet Ministers, meeting behind doors strongly guarded by police, upon the men who bring a police force 1,500 strong, on horse and foot, to protect them from unarmed women.

To us ridicule is welcome. It is death to the pretender, or the tyrant, seeking concealment.

"But, how silly," people say, "of the women to chain themselves to railings in Downing-street. What good can that do?"

It tells the whole world that women are not prepared to submit tamely and without protest to political tyranny. It has just the same effect, neither more nor less, than if we were men, and used the weapon of "murder." It is the announcement of a mental and moral revolt against oppression. It arrests attention and arouses thought and quickens perceptions of a wrong hitherto ignored or slothfully accepted.

Doing something silly is the women's alternative for doing something cruel. The effect is the same. We use no violence because we can win freedom for women without it; because we have discovered an alternative.

To women's wit, to women's self-control and common-sense, to women's larger humanity, is due the discovery that there is another way than that of "murder" of running a militant campaign against political and legal tyranny. This discovery is the great contribution of women to political life.

WOMEN'S PARLIAMENT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The following messages have been received from the women in Holloway:—

WORK, WORK, WORK.

I am overjoyed to hear of the efforts that women are making to strengthen this movement in every way. My message to them is to be of good courage and to work, work, work for the success of the great Albert Hall demonstration on March 19. They must not be anxious about me. Though I have been obliged to go into hospital for a few days, I hope soon to be better and to go back to the ordinary cells, where I can see our comrades every day in the exercise yard. Whatever happens, I shall stay in Holloway till my six weeks are up.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Gladstone said, when asked in the House of Commons to put our women in the first division, that it was for the interests of the country that we should be punished severely. It is for the interests of our country that we women are prepared to suffer imprisonment to win for our sex political liberty.

ANNIE KENNEY.

"NOT DUE TO THE WOMEN."

I go to prison to help to free those who are bound by unjust laws and tyranny. I love freedom so dearly that I want all women to have it, and I will fight for it until they get it. When I get into my cell I shall be given a Bible, and I shall read there of the man who, being mortally wounded by a woman, said to his servant (a man), "Kill me! Run me through with thy sword, that it cannot be said that I was killed by a woman."

Is this not like the Liberal Government, which prefers to say that the people voted against free food than they voted because they supported the women?

MINNIE BALDOCK.

A great blow was struck for woman's enfranchisement last month in connection with the Women's Parliament in the Caxton Hall.

On Tuesday, February 11, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided, supported by Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others.

Mrs. Pankhurst sent a message from Leeds, in which she said that she would make the most of all that was said and all that was done in London that day. It might have a very big effect upon the result of the election in Leeds.

In moving a resolution protesting "against the unconstitutional action of the Government in refusing the Parliamentary vote to the women taxpayers of the country, and demanding the immediate enactment of a measure granting the Parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, addressing the women as "representatives of a voteless sex," said they had been called unconstitutional, but it was the Government which was breaking the fundamental law of the British Constitution that taxation and representation should go together.

It was impossible to use constitutional methods unless and until they should be included in the Constitution. The Government were acting illegally, and were unjustified in the opposi-

tion which they were making to the women's demands. Their demand was strictly legal and strictly reasonable. They meant to put forward their demands not in words only, but in actions.

A Miraculous Movement.

Their movement had been a miracle, as was shown by the fact that 200 women had been prepared to stand the test of imprisonment as a proof of their earnestness in the cause. The forces of destiny had declared that the womanhood of this country should be a free and a responsible womanhood.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst remarked that when they commenced by throwing down the glove to the strongest Government of modern times many thought they were audacious, but now they were all Suffragists together. (Applause.) Together they were the trustees of the honour of their sex.

Miss Pankhurst proceeded to show that the defeat of the Government in the recent by-elections was due to the work of the women, and not to the influence of Tariff Reform.

The Enfranchisement Bill.

Referring to the Bill for conferring the franchise on women (to be introduced this Session), Miss Pankhurst said: "It is a private member's Bill, and it will never become law if the Government are against it. We have got to bring pressure to bear on the Government between now and February 28, and we have got to make the Government wish they had given in before."

Miss Annie Kenney said that many of the Lancashire detachments were of the working-class, and before coming to London they had to bake the bread, to do the washing, and prepare for their husbands and families during the time they would be away in London. Every one was prepared to go to prison for her political enfranchisement.

She urged the women of social standing present to fight for the cause themselves, and go to prison if necessary, and not let the working-women do all the fighting. They wanted rich women and the middle-class women to go out and help to fight the battle.

Nothing to Stand in the Way.

Women had got to make up their minds, once and for all, that nothing should stand in their way and the way of their great movement, whether it be father, mother, sister, brother, or husband.

Miss Naylor moved that the resolution be at once conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The president said that this would not necessarily mean that they would be arrested, but all who went must be prepared for arrest.

Miss Haig appealed to all the women in the hall to help to swell the appeal to the Prime Minister. They might do wonders if they were all to work together.

Delegates from all parts of the country then addressed the meeting, and the resolution was unanimously carried.

While the meeting was going on in the Caxton Hall, a clever ruse was being adopted for bringing a number of women up to the immediate entrance to the House of Commons. A pantechicon van had been arranged to drive up the road shortly after four o'clock.

As the vehicle drew near to the entrance to St. Stephen's, the driver guided his horses well to the side of the road. On reaching the gate, the horses were pulled up, and in an instant the doors at the back of the van flew open, and some 20 to 30 women rushed out, and attempted to storm the entrance.

The police, however, were on the alert, and, although the leader of the troop got through the outer portal, the further progress of the women was prevented.

A little later the contingent from Caxton Hall, bringing copies of the resolution with them, proceeded down Victoria-

street towards the House of Commons. But they were refused admittance by the police, acting under Government orders. The women insisted upon their right to enter the House, and, on being again refused, attempted to make their way in, in spite of the opposition of the police, and were taken into custody.

A similar scene was witnessed in the evening, and altogether 50 women were arrested. They were as follows:—

Miss Marie Naylor, Chelsea.
Miss Florence Haig, Chelsea.
Miss Mayo, Chelsea.
Miss Mary Phillips, Glasgow.
Miss Mary Mill, London.
Mrs. Robinson, Manchester.
Miss A. Wilkinson, Bury.
Miss Joachim, Chelsea.
Mrs. Duncan, Cheshire.
Miss Alice Hamilton, London.
Miss Jessie Mackay, Leeds.
Mrs. Titterington, Leeds.
Miss Wentworth, London.
Miss Amelia Kern, London.
Mrs. Rigby, Preston.
Miss L. Salfonstall, Halifax.
Mrs. Brook, Huddersfield.
Mrs. Older, Huddersfield.
Miss Dorothy Young, London.
Miss Marie Howey, Malvern.
Miss Elsa Gye, London.
Miss Mary Lane, London.
Miss Margt. Graham, London.
Mrs. Bouvier, Lewisham.
Mrs. Aldham, Cricklewood.
Miss Elsie Howey, Malvern.
Miss G. Brackenbury, Kensington.
Miss Laycock, Bradford.
Mrs. Glyde, Bradford.
Miss Howes, Bournemouth.
Miss Ida Cunard, Birmingham.
Mrs. Taylor, Liverpool.
Mrs. Wood, Birmingham.
Miss Laura Hemming, Birmingham.
Mrs. Marie Edwards, Birmingham.
Miss Adeline Redfern, Stoke-on-Trent.
Mrs. Alderman, Preston.
Mrs. Towler, Preston.
Mrs. Hesmondhalgh, Preston.
Mrs. Aldis, Birmingham.
Miss Marie Brackenbury, Kensington.
Miss Maloney, London.
Miss Titterington, Leeds.
Mrs. Cullen, Paddington.
Mrs. Batchelor, Bradford.
Miss Kuper, London.
Miss Emily Cowley, Liverpool.
Mrs. Whitworth, Rochdale.
Miss Charlotte Griffiths, Rochdale.
Mrs. Mary Jones, London.

They were all taken to Cannon-row police-station, where they were kept till 10.30 p.m., and then released on bail, Mr. Pethick Lawrence being prepared to go surety.

Next day they were all tried at the Rochester-row Police-court; Mr. Muskett, prosecuting for the Crown, said that the powers of the authorities were not exhausted, that if the disturbances continued they would be obliged to prosecute under a statute of Charles II., forbidding a procession of more than ten persons to the House of Commons, the penalty for which was £100 or three months' imprisonment. Such a course would carry the case from the police-court to a higher court, and in the present instance he asked that the cases should be dealt with summarily under the Police Acts.

The prisoners took up an extremely dignified attitude in court, not disputing the evidence except in order to show the political character of their action. In 47 out of the 50 cases they were bound over in two sureties of £20 to keep the peace for twelve months, and in default to go to prison for six weeks in the second division.

Mrs. Kuper was discharged on the ground that the evidence against her was inconclusive, Mrs. Rigby and Miss Titterington as "old offenders" were fined £5 or sent to prison for a month.

In all cases except two (whose relatives were very ill) the women chose prison, and were sent off to Holloway.

Wednesday's Parliament.

When that afternoon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence announced to the Parliament of Women that 50 of their number who had the day before gone out from the meeting to carry a resolution to the Prime Minister, had been arrested and sent to prison for six weeks, there were hisses and cries of "Shame."

Mrs. Lawrence then moved a resolution deploring "the lowering of the British standards of justice and equity in the esti-

mation of the world through the treatment meted out to voteless women demanding their civil liberties by a reactionary Government." This was carried unanimously, the audience standing.

Mrs. Lawrence then went on to say that that Women's Parliament would go down to posterity as one of the most important Parliaments that had ever been held in history.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst referred to the speech made by Mr. Muskett when prosecuting the Suffragettes in the police-court that morning, in which he had threatened that an Act of Charles II. would be put into operation against them. "This takes us back to stirring times, ladies," she said. "At last it is realised that the women are fighting for freedom as their fathers did. If they want twelve women, aye, and more than twelve, if a hundred are wanted to be tried under that Act, and to be sent to prison for three months, they can be found."

Thursday's Session.

When Mrs. Pankhurst appeared on the platform on Thursday afternoon, she received a most enthusiastic reception, and the audience listened eagerly to her account of the by-election campaign in South Leeds, and especially to the story of the torch-light procession, and the wonderful meeting of 100,000 people on Hunslet Moor. Mrs. Pankhurst told how police assistance in organising the procession had been refused, and how Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Massy, and Miss Barrett, who walked in front, had been obliged to clear their own way through the thronging crowds; and yet of how there had been no disorder, only sympathy and enthusiasm, all along the route with the vast crowds that parted to let the procession pass through, joining on to it behind. She spoke of the earnestness of the women, and of how some had kept calling out in broad Yorkshire, "Shall us have the vote?" and others answering, "We shall." "I have come back to London," continued Mrs. Pankhurst, "feeling as I have never felt before, that we are near the end of the struggle. I feel that the time has come when I must act. If you carry the resolution which I am about to put to you, I volunteer from the chair to be one of those to carry it to Parliament this afternoon."

The resolution, which called for the immediate enfranchisement of women, was then read. Miss Annie Kenney, in seconding it, said that she was prepared to follow Mrs. Pankhurst, as she had always done since first she met her. The resolution was then carried, and Mrs. Pankhurst and her following left to carry it to the Prime Minister.

An Extraordinary Scene.

Outside the hall an extraordinary scene took place. Mrs. Pankhurst's trap was stopped, and she was told she must walk; this she agreed to do. The police told her that the women must not walk in a block, they accordingly adopted single file. They then said that they must not go in a continuous file, but in twos and threes; this they also agreed to. But the police refused to allow them to proceed, and on their insisting upon going to the House of Commons took them into custody. The names of the arrested were:—

Mrs. Pankhurst.
Miss Annie Kenney.
Miss Gladice Keevil.
Mrs. Baldock.
Mrs. Kerwood, Birmingham.
Mrs. Sidley, London.
Miss Frith, London.
Miss Annie Parker, Chelsea.
Miss M. Keegan, London.
Miss H. Allen, London.

When the Parliament reassembled at eight o'clock, the names of those who had been arrested were known.

The hall was crowded, and the audience seething with mingled indignation and enthusiasm, which burst out in a thunder of applause as Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Kenney, and the other prisoners who had been let out on bail entered.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

Mrs. Pankhurst said: "When I left the hall this afternoon I did not expect to return in time to meet you this evening, but the adjournment of the House of Commons has given me the opportunity to explain to you what I was not permitted to tell Mr. Herbert Gladstone and others this afternoon. My experience in the country, and especially in South Leeds, has taught

me things which Cabinet Ministers, who have not that experience, have no means of knowing, and has made me feel that I would make one final attempt to see them, and to urge them to reconsider their position before some terrible disaster has occurred.

"The urgent need that they should do so has been especially borne in upon me by the remarkable demonstration of last night. The Press has never magnified our agitation, but the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Yorkshire Post*, and other papers, have to-day pointed out the great public importance of this demonstration. Thousands and thousands of men and women followed our procession through the streets, and attended our meeting on Hunslet Moor, and among them all there was hardly a sneer or a jeer, not even from among the Liberals themselves, but what impressed me the most, and made me almost afraid, was the stern determination of the crowd to restrain any demonstration against us. We had to beg and plead with the people to save the university students, who were hostile to us, from their anger, or serious consequences would have resulted. From time to time we saw signs that the restraint that we have up to now been able to exercise over the crowd might be broken through, and that the men and women might take to methods of agitation which were employed by men when they fought for the franchise.

"It was for these reasons that I thought that, as a woman of experience in many movements, I might be able to persuade those in power, for the sake of the country, to do this tardy act of justice."

Mrs. Pankhurst then went on to describe the manner of her arrest, and to explain how very anxious she had been to comply with every order or request made by the authorities which was consistent with her arriving at the House of Commons. "If charged with obstruction," she continued, "no doubt we shall be found guilty, whether we are charged with breaking police regulations or under an obsolete Act of Charles II., but we shall continue the agitation. We shall never rest or falter till the long weary struggle for enfranchisement is won."

On Friday morning the prisoners came up for trial. The authorities charging them with "obstructing the police" tried once more to make the public believe that the whole thing was in the nature of a street row. But Mrs. Pankhurst, in her remarks after sentence had been passed, showed the perversion that this pretence implied.

The sentence was the same as on the previous occasion: six weeks' imprisonment in default of being bound over for twelve months. Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baldock, as previous offenders, received £5 fine or a month's imprisonment. The prisoners one and all chose to go to prison rather than to pledge their conduct in a way which would have prohibited them from continuing the agitation.

PRISON ARRANGEMENTS.

All the women sent to Holloway in connection with the attempt to reach the House of Commons are in the second division.

They wear prison dress, eat prison food, are in their cells in solitary confinement for 23 hours out of 24, have no access to one another, are not allowed papers or letters or visits from their friends.

Half an hour each day they have for exercise, half an hour for chapel. During the day they are set to work to make mail bags or to darn. After 5 p.m. they may, if they like, read one of the books in the prison library.

They are not entitled to any visits from their friends or any letters during the first four weeks of their sentence. At the end of that time they will be entitled to write one letter to anyone they like, and in reply one letter may be sent to them. Care should be taken to put the same number on the reply as the prisoner puts upon her letter which she writes.

The normal arrangement for the visit is that the prisoner may be visited on one occasion by not more than three persons, the visitors seeing the prisoner through the bars of her prison and in the presence of the wardress. It is desirable to inform the governor beforehand of the day and time when it is proposed to visit any of the prisoners, as it must be subject to his arrangements.

In addition to these normal rights, it is possible for the Home Office, Whitehall, to grant special permits to visit prisoners on other occasions, and to relax the regulations affecting the character of the visit by allowing access to the prisoner in a

separate room. Members of Parliament in particular are able to obtain special privileges.

THE PRISONERS' RELEASE.

Assuming that the Government do not interfere in any way to shorten the sentences of the women, the following are the dates on which the women will be released:—

Wednesday, March 11, Mrs. Rigby and Mrs. Titterton.

Friday, March 13, Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baldock.

As far as can be at present ascertained, the other sentences are subject to an automatic reduction, and the release of the prisoners is expected as follows:—

Wednesday, March 18, the other women arrested on February 11.

Friday, March 20, Mrs. Pankhurst and the other women arrested on February 13.

Arrangements for Welcome.

It is proposed to give a breakfast on March 13 in honour of the four prisoners sentenced to a month. Special welcomes will also be arranged in the local centres from which the prisoners have come. Annie Kenney will also undertake a tour throughout the country during the second half of March.

A band and a procession will be arranged to conduct the prisoners released on March 18 from Holloway, to a public breakfast, where speeches will be made by the prisoners and others.

It is expected that a specially large turn-out of women will wait to greet Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow prisoners on March 20, and arrangements are being made for friends who desire to be conveyed in carriages from Holloway. It is hoped an impressive procession will be the result. A public breakfast will also be given, and later on a reception in the largest available rooms in London. Following upon this Mrs. Pankhurst will address audiences in different parts of the country. Amongst other places, it is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst will speak in Leeds, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Manchester, Northampton, and Nottingham.

It has not been found possible to make any of these arrangements quite definite in time for announcement in this paper, but particulars will be given later in the VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT.

To the Suffragettes.

Who sets her shoulder to the Cross of Christ,
Lo! she shall wear sharp scorn upon her brow!
And she whose hand is put to Freedom's plough,
May not with sleek Expediency make tryst:
Wherefore to thee be honour!—unentic'd
By shallow tongues that bid thee meekly bow
And beg—for what their pleasure may allow—
With soft obsequious voice and honour priced.
O fateful heralds, charged with Time's decree,
Whose feet with doom have compassed Error's wall;
Whose lips have blown the Trump of Destiny
Till ancient thrones have shaken toward their fall;
Shout! for the Lord hath given unto thee
The new great age that brings new hope to all!

JAMES H. COUSINS.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS.

When VOTES FOR WOMEN for February went to press the three by-elections of South Herefordshire, Worcester, and South Leeds were all in progress. All these three have been decided in a way which showed the enormous importance of the women's influence. In Herefordshire the Liberal majority of 300 was turned into a Conservative majority of over 1,000. The women were exceedingly well received in all the centres from which they worked, and although the national Press did not give them credit for having much effect on the election, it was otherwise in the locality, as will be seen from the following extract from the *Hereford Times*, a Liberal paper:—

The great bulk of the official Suffragettes are women who combine a spotless character with liberal and democratic convictions. We, who have been life-long advocates of women's suffrage, may think that the policy of opposing the reforming party now in power as a reminder to the Government is not the right way to obtain the desired results. But we should be the last to contend that the invasion of a number of able and eloquent speakers into a constituency would not largely influence public opinion. This is exactly what occurred in Mid-Devon. These zealous and capable women are sowing handfuls of hardy Liberal seed in ground over which Primrose dames have only lightly and gracefully tripped! The richer harvests will come along after the hour of the approaching election.

And after the poll the same paper, in its issue of February 8, definitely acknowledged the effect of the women's work in securing the Conservative majority. Another extract from a leading article by the same paper will be found on page 92 of this issue.

Worcester.

In Worcester the previous Conservative majority of 129 was converted into a majority of 1,292. The intense interest aroused by the women was shown by the great reception held by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the large room of the Star Hotel, at which almost everyone of importance in Worcester was present.

South Leeds.

In South Leeds there has been considerable Press testimony that the interest in the women's cause was the principal factor in the election.

The special correspondent of the *Daily News* wrote, on February 11:—

The greater part of the day has been spent by Mr. Middlebrook in making personal friends among the engineers, who form a vast majority of the electorate, and—what is equally important in a constituency where the Suffragists are working with tremendous vigour and no mean success—friends with the engineers' wives. No good purpose could be served by shutting one's eyes to the part which women's suffrage is playing upon this occasion. In the opinion of South Leeds, at any rate, the female suffrage question has entered the region of immediate practical politics. At Worcester, Hereford, and Mid-Devon the cause fell flat, but one has only to watch the women here, shawled and voluble, on their way to such mass meetings as those held yesterday on Hunslet Moor, when 10,000 people gathered round three platforms to listen quietly to the young orators, who have become famous, in order to be convinced what the subject stands for among the industrial democracy.

On the eve of the poll the special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* sent the following message to his paper:—

Whichever of the three men candidates is declared to-morrow night to have received the greatest number of votes, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Gawthorpe will be able to declare the result a triumph for the women. For it is a Suffragette election. The ladies have dominated it entirely, provided its chief interest, and attracted the most attention.

Mr. Neville's candidature is deficient in organisation and grip, Mr. Fox's lacks spirit and go, and Mr. Middlebrook's lacks appeal. But the Suffragette campaign has been lacking in none of these essentials of effective electioneering. It has been distinguished by energy, enthusiasm, oratorical ability, organising genius, and every quality which goes to the winning of an election. There is not a voter in the constituency to whom the arguments in favour of votes for women have not been fully and effectively expounded.

There is a certain vagueness in the minds of all except declared partisans as to the grounds upon which each of the three candidates claim the votes of the electors. There is none as to the reasons upon which the Suffragettes base their claim to votes for women. They have worked harder and more persistently, talked oftener and more directly and persuasively than the others, and they have obtained the largest and most attentive and interested audiences.

The women's campaign ended with a demonstration, which was among the very largest ever known in Leeds. The great mass meeting on Hunslet Moor, coming at the close of the great procession through the streets on the Wednesday night, February 12, was referred to as follows by the *Daily Mail*:—

Everything else paled before the last effort of the Suffragettes. It was picturesque, exhilarating, triumphant. Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers had hit upon the idea of having a torchlight procession to Hunslet Moor, and the electors, both of South Leeds and the other divisions of the city, joined in whole-heartedly. The demonstration has, in fact, not been equalled in Leeds since Mafeking night. Once a group of students, who marched across the road apparently with the intention of breaking up the ranks, were overwhelmed, for the Suffragettes are far more popular than the students in South Leeds just now.

At last the demonstration, headed by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Martell, reached Hunslet Moor, and the vast crowd which gathered is estimated at about 100,000 people. The leaders addressed the gathering, but owing to darkness and the general bustle not much could be heard. Still, the huge success of the demonstration is undeniable.

The final result, representing a reduction of the Liberal vote by over 900, was exceedingly encouraging, and drew forth the following remark from the *Leeds Mercury*, the Liberal paper in Yorkshire:—

We may remind Conservative journals that Mr. Neville owed a good many votes to the activity of the Suffragettes, who did not succeed in defeating the Liberal candidate, but who, by all accounts, created an unexpectedly favourable impression in the constituency, made many proselytes, and possibly kept away a few voters from the Liberal side.

Hastings By-Election.

We are promised yet another by-election, this time in Hastings, where the sitting member, Mr. Harvey Du Cros, has decided to retire. There is not going to be any delay in this case. The writ was moved through in the House of Commons on Monday, February 24, and it is expected that the election will take place on March 3, thus leaving only a week for work. But the women are already in the field. Miss Pankhurst visited Hastings on February 25, and Miss Martell is taking charge of the election. The figures in 1906 were as follows: H. Du Cros (Con.), 4,348; F. Freeman Thomas (Lib.), 3,935.

A Liberal Testimony.

The "Daily Chronicle" of February 15, had an amusing article under the title "Losing an Election," in which the writer gave sarcastic advice to the Liberal party on the best methods to be adopted in order to lose an election. The portion about the Suffragettes is reproduced below.

The Suffragist.

A fourth plan is at once newer and more dashing. It is at least equally successful. Leave it to the women—to the suffragist "ladies," to the guileless Amazons who, after being carried out of meetings in the provinces, come up to town, full of enthusiasm, to batter at the doors of Cabinet Ministers, and joyfully entreat to be sent to prison—as first-class misdemeanants and "martyrs." By whatever name they call themselves, these daughters of sweet reasonableness can be trusted to make hay of all things political which are not their chosen things; and their name it is Woman—woman on the warpath—woman as the new big child, who can't wait a moment for the moon or the rainbow, but must have it just now, while she screams. Plainly, this stampede can do a great deal of execution of a sort. It cares not a copper for any party, or principle, or prejudice, but its own. "We Women!" is at once the badge of it, and its battle-cry, and its promise for the future.

Wherefore, if you desire to lose an election, the suffragist is one of the means you should employ—even court—for the purpose. She is the new class; the new revolutionary. She intends that, Liberal or Tory, she shall dictate terms. Whether she can make a success of this for herself remains to be seen. While she plays chauffeur, and means to have a long spin, the Conservative man is there, with his hand on the speed-gear. He knows the trick; he is a very old hand. The stormy suffragist is very young; as a politician she is a babe a span long. But she can help lose a seat for you, and is very ready to oblige that way.

Making allowance for the bias of the paper in which the article appears, this is testimony to the effectiveness of the women's part in elections which is well worth having.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

March, 1908.

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY.

Right for ever on the scaffold,
 Wrong for ever on the throne;
 Yet that scaffold sways the future,
 And behind the dim unknown
 Standeth God within the shadow
 Keeping watch above His own.

—James Russell Lowell.

All down through the history of the world there has been one treatment meted out to those who would give new life and new light to their fellow men and fellow women.

Not honour, not reverence, not gratitude; but ridicule, persecution, suffering, shame, imprisonment, and death.

This was the reward of the prophets of olden time, of the great Master and Founder of our Faith, of the heroes of modern history. And this reward is still waiting for all who dare to come into conflict with tradition, and prejudice, and tyranny.

But if history teaches this lesson, it teaches also another with equal certainty that there comes a day when the judgment of the hour is set aside, the verdict is reversed, and the sentence is annulled.

But often, far too often, that reversal comes too late; it comes when the brave spirit which faced with unflinching courage the angry passions of men has passed away for ever from the scene.

Though to-day the whole of Christendom professes allegiance to the name of Christ, the only cry which pierced the air in that hour in Jerusalem was "Crucify him, crucify him."

In France it was not till after 24 years that the trial of

Joan of Arc was re-examined, and when the verdict of ultimate acquittal was pronounced there was no quick ear to hear and no living eye to smile. The cruel sentence had done its work, the fire at the stake had taken away one whose fearless being this poor world could so ill afford to spare.

Once more, John Brown was executed in America before the tide of popular feeling had risen to reverse the sentence of the Court, and to place his name upon the everlasting roll of honour of the human race.

Here to-day it is not too late. Cruel as are prison bars, they are not shut for ever; there is still opportunity to make good the wrong that has been wrought.

It is no personal gratification or honour or reverence for which our leader or her followers ask; they seek that their work may be accomplished and the women of the country freed.

Mrs. Pankhurst tells us that this brooks no further delay. She gives warning that the agitation has nearly reached the limits of her power of control; that if justice be yet further delayed she cannot tell what may be the result. It may then be too late.

But to-day, to-day while there is yet time, she calls upon the women of the country to come forward and with her to win the victory.

And in response to her appeal there is a determination in the hearts of the people, which cries with one voice "Yes, it shall be NOW."

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

When the history of this campaign comes to be written, one of its chief events will be held to have been the Women's Parliament, which met in the Caxton Hall some days ago. On the first day the meeting adopted a resolution condemning the unconstitutional action of the Government in withholding the franchise from women taxpayers. On the motion of Miss Naylor, it was resolved that this resolution should be conveyed to the House of Commons by a deputation, and this was done, with the result that 50 women were arrested by the police, and were, on the following day, sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment in the second division, because they refused to undertake not to repeat this action.

The solicitor for the prosecution, Mr. Muskett, hoping, no doubt, that fear of a yet heavier penalty would deter others from following the example of the 50 prisoners, threatened that in future an Act of Charles II. dealing with presentation of petitions to Parliament would be brought into operation against suffragist offenders. It was at once decided to take up the challenge by sending a deputation of 13 women to the House of Commons. In a few hours, more than the number of women required volunteered to run the risk of three months' imprisonment, and when, on the third day of Parliament, Mrs. Pankhurst declared her intention of leading the deputation to the House, she was accompanied by Miss Annie Kenney and 11 others, equally determined to claim political rights for their sex. Mrs. Pankhurst got into a pony-trap, and her companions followed on foot.

How the Procession Started.

Watching them, in the street, were many policemen and a curious crowd. There was something intensely moving in the sight of these women, one in a little humble cart, the others walking two and two behind. They were so small in strength and so few in number, and yet they had a purpose strong to overcome the resistance of the Imperial Government, supported as it is by every material resource. As the little procession moved away, a bystander said, "That lot won't get far"; and so it was, for they had not gone many yards before the police fell upon them, ordered the leader out of the trap, and broke the ranks of those on foot. Those who stayed behind at Caxton Hall then lost sight of them, for they were surrounded by the crowd.

What cannot be too often repeated is that our friends obeyed the directions of the police in every particular, except that they persisted in walking (singly on being told to walk singly) in the direction of the House of Commons. This purely political and technical offence was made the basis of a charge against them of obstructing the police. Having threatened to avail themselves of the provisions of an Act of Charles II., the authorities, when it came to the point, feared to institute proceedings in the High Court, because the consequence would have been to show unmistakably the political character of the women's action. Happily, in spite of the unsatisfactory police-court procedure, the world now begins to understand that our prisoners are not mere disturbers of the peace, but are serious and public-spirited women, who are seeking a constitutional right. This point is brought out very well in an extract, which is given on page 92, from the paper "*Bon Accord*."

The meeting at which Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Kenney and others spoke on the evening of their arrest was wonderful in its enthusiasm. Since then numberless expressions of sympathy and support have reached us.

We are all eager for the moment of the prisoners' release. Arrangements for their welcome are being made, and a statement on the matter appears on page 84.

In the meantime, protest meetings are being held in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, and further meetings to be addressed by the prisoners on their release will be arranged. It is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst will speak in Leeds, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Manchester, Nottingham, and Northampton before Easter.

Our treasurer's appeal for the observance for a week of self-denial has been eagerly responded to by supporters of the Union. The way in which our members, in order to gain money for the cause, carried out tasks which they would not dream of undertaking for private ends has been a revelation to the public of the devotion which the Votes for Women movement has inspired.

In addition to a large number of meetings which have been held during the month all over England and Scotland, which have been highly successful, our by-election work has been particularly valuable.

The By-Elections.

Following on our great victory at Mid-Devon came in rapid succession by-elections at South Hereford, Worcester, and South Leeds. The Government nominee was defeated at Hereford, and according to the statement in the "*Hereford Times*," the local Liberal journal, much sympathy was won, and many votes turned against the Government by the work of the Union. At Worcester also we were entirely successful in our attempt to defeat the Government. In South Leeds the situation was complicated by a split in the Labour ranks and other circumstances. Our workers put forward great efforts, and were successful, according to the testimony of the Press, in making this a Women's Suffrage election. On the eve of the poll there was a torchlight procession and an enormous demonstration on Hunslet Moor. The great assembly showed every sign of strong support of our demand. Those whose memory goes back to the reform agitations of the last century declare that this great gathering equalled, if it did not exceed, in size the mass meetings held to demand the vote for men.

Our by-election work is now recognised as an important factor in every election. An article in the "*Daily Chronicle*," containing sarcastic advice to Liberals on how to lose a by-election, counted the Suffragists as one of the important forces which are arrayed against the Government. The President of the National Liberal Federation, addressing the annual meeting at Leicester, referred to our share in securing the defeat of the Government in recent elections. There are many other evidences of the fact that politicians are no longer blind to the influence we exert. The next election contest is to be in Hastings, Mr. Harvey Du Cros having resigned his seat. The first meeting was held on Tuesday evening, and was addressed by Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Drummond, and myself.

Lectures in the Portman Rooms.

Our militant campaign is making every woman think about woman's suffrage, and there is a great desire for information on the question. To meet this demand we have arranged a series of lectures to be held in the Portman Rooms, Baker-street. The first lecture will be delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on Tuesday, March 3, at 8.30 p.m.; her subject being "*What the Woman Movement Means*." The second lecture is arranged for Thursday, March 10, and will be delivered by Dr. L.

Garrett Anderson. Mrs. Pankhurst has promised to give the third lecture on March 24, and as the term of her imprisonment, according to the latest accounts, will have already expired, she will keep to that date, taking for her subject "The Importance of the Vote." Miss Elizabeth Robins will be the speaker on March 31, and the final lecture will be delivered on April 7 by myself on the subject of "Women and Practical Politics." At these lectures each speaker will go more thoroughly and deeply into her subject than it is possible to do at, for example, the Monday "At Home," where time has to be devoted to making announcements and commenting on passing events. Admission to these lectures is 5s., 2s. 6d. and 1s.; tickets may be obtained from the ticket secretary, 4, Clements Inn.

The Albert Hall Meeting, March 19.

There is every sign that the great women's demonstration in the Albert Hall, to be held on Thursday, March 29, at 8 o'clock, will be attended by a vast audience. Our members are undertaking the business of ticket-selling with enthusiasm. One member has bought outright £11 worth of tickets, and will come back for more as soon as these are sold. As the paper goes to press she tells me she has only a few tickets left. Another member has undertaken to sell £6 worth of tickets, and a third has already disposed of three boxes. All this is most encouraging, but it must be remembered that the Albert Hall is the largest in the country, and that to fill it with an audience of women only is no small undertaking. Therefore, we have prepared several schemes for advertising the meeting and disposing of tickets. In a few days' time a number of women wearing "Votes for Women" scarves, will take up their stand in busy thoroughfares for the purpose of distributing handbills and selling tickets. I should be glad to have the names of further volunteers for this work. As the time for the meeting draws nearer, parties of women will write in chalk announcements on the pavements, and the meeting will be advertised in divers other ways.

The Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

February 28 will see the second reading debate upon the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, introduced by Mr. Stanger, M.P. for Kensington. This Bill is along the lines which we have always advocated; that is to say, it simply removes the sex disability, and would give votes to women on the same terms as they are at the present time possessed by men. The future progress of the Bill depends principally upon two things. In the first place, it is uncertain whether the Speaker will allow the closure. In the second place, it is uncertain to what committee the Bill will, if it is read a second time, be relegated.

As regards the Speaker, several Members of Parliament predict that on this occasion he will grant the closure, basing their opinion on the fact that the question has already been twice discussed during the present Parliament, and that Mr. Dickinson's first Bill of last year was on the same lines as the present one.

The House sits from 12 to 5 on Fridays, so that there will be ample time for a very full debate on the Bill. It cannot reasonably be argued that a period of 5 hours is inadequate for the discussion of a reform which has been before the country for the past half-century, and to which 420 Members of this Parliament are pledged. If the Speaker refuses the closure which may be moved on the stroke of 5 o'clock, the Bill will be talked out, and will be dead for the Session, unless the Government grants another day for the adjourned debate. If, on the other hand, the closure is accepted, then presumably the second reading will be carried, as a large majority of the House are pledged to vote for it. The question then turns upon

what will be done with the Bill afterwards. According to the present rules of procedure, the Bill will pass into one of the standing committees, and the discussion of it will go on during the next two months quite irrespective of the legislation which is being discussed in the House as a whole. But it is open to any Member of Parliament to move that instead of being sent to one of the standing committees it shall be sent to the committee of the whole House. If this motion is carried, no further discussion would take place on the Bill unless special time of the whole House were provided for it.

The Government Responsible.

The Government, if it will, can easily insist that the Bill be sent to a standing committee, and thus enable it to proceed through the committee stage without difficulty. If the Government use their influence to have the Bill sent to a committee of the whole House, then the Bill can only proceed if the Government are instrumental in affording time for its further discussion. It will be seen, therefore, that the Government have it in their power either to facilitate or to hinder the progress of the Bill, and the Women's Social and Political Union will hold the Government responsible for whatever happens.

Our immediate plan of campaign is well adapted to compel the Government seriously to face the Women's Suffrage question. The Albert Hall meeting on March 19, other important demonstrations in London and the country, the mass meeting in Hyde Park on June 21 will be evidence of the strength of women's demand for the vote. The opposition at by-elections and the militant action which our members are more than ever ready to take, will prove to be a most serious difficulty to the Government, if they decide to continue their opposition. For their own sake they would be wise to accept the opportunity afforded by Mr. Stanger's Bill to retrieve the mistake they made when, at the outset of their career, they refused to grant political enfranchisement to their countrywomen.

NOT A POLICE DISTURBANCE.

In order to make clear the real nature of the action of the W.S.P.U. leaders on Thursday, February 13, the following letter was sent to the Press:—

DEAR SIR,—The report of the proceedings in the Police-court yesterday, when Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners were tried, does not make clear the facts of the case. The prisoners were charged with obstructing the police. But this obstruction was of a purely technical character. The evidence showed that not only did the women use no violence of any kind, but that they followed in every respect the instructions given to them by the police, except that they refused to abandon their intention of proceeding to the House of Commons. There was no disturbance and no disorder, and the crowd was not of their making. The offence, if any, was a political one, namely, the insistence of a deputation of 13 women to go to present a petition to the Prime Minister.

The attempt of the Government, acting through the Crown Prosecutor, to pour contempt on the movement by pretending that our agitation is in the nature of a street row, will not succeed. Our object is political, and it can only be met in a political way. The Government, having failed to take the initiative in bringing in a Suffrage Bill, must now give every assistance to the Bill of Mr. Stanger, the second reading debate of which is fixed for February 28.

We look to the Government to secure, not only the second reading of this Bill, but also that it will be sent to a Standing Committee, and we require an assurance that "facilities" shall be given to it on its return to the whole House on the Report stage. In this way, and in this way alone, can our militant campaign be stayed.

Yours, &c.,

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

February 15, 1908.

The National Women's Social & Political Union,
4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

A GREAT WOMAN'S MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN

The Albert Hall

ON

THURSDAY, MARCH 19th, at 8 p.m.,

TO DEMAND

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Speakers:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,
Miss ANNIE KENNEY, Mrs. MARTEL, Mrs. BAINES, and others.

Tickets and all information from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Prices:

Boxes, £3 3s., £2 2s., and £1 1s.; Stalls, 5s.; Arena, 2s. 6d.; Lower Orchestra, Balcony,
Organ Gallery, 1s.; Gallery, Upper Orchestra, 6d.

OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A Course of Lectures will be given on Tuesdays, March 3rd, 10th, 24th, 31st, and April 7th, in the Portman Rooms, W., on Woman Suffrage. The Speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B. Tickets, 5/-, 2/6, and 1/- each lecture, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The N.W.S.P.U. holds an AT HOME every Monday Afternoon, 4—6, in the Portman Rooms (Baker Street, W.). Visitors are specially invited. An Evening At Home is also held every Thursday, at 8 p.m., in the Offices of the Union, 4, Clements Inn.

A Monster Demonstration will be held in Hyde Park on June 21st, at 3 p.m., when all the Leaders of the Movement will address the audience.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. VI.—*The Married Woman's Property Acts.*

The Married Woman's Property Act of 1870 provided that a married woman's earnings made during her marriage should be her own property to dispose of as she pleased, also that any personal property, or any sum not exceeding £200, that might come to a wife during her marriage, either through the death of an intestate relative or by deed or will, should become her own private property, but any gifts or bequests of more than £200 value should go to her husband as before the Act came into force. In the case of real estate, the Act provided that a married woman might receive the rents and profits that might come to her as the heiress or co-heiress of an intestate. A woman about to marry might deposit her earnings or personal property in a Savings Bank, which could only take £200, or invest it in her intended name as a married woman, in certain specified investments, considered by the Lords to be suitable. If, however, these things were done without the consent of her husband he could have them set aside, and could claim the money as though it had been his own.

The Act placed a wife possessed of separate property under the same Poor Law liabilities to maintain her husband as a husband to maintain his wife, she was also liable like a widow to maintain her children, but not to the exclusion of her husband's liability.

A wife was empowered to sue in respect of her private property, but she might not be sued. She had no power to contract, so that any contract into which she entered as a principle imposed no liability on anyone. Any action brought against a wife because of a wrong committed by her must be brought against the husband and wife jointly, and they must sue jointly in the case of any injury done to the wife. Any damages awarded became the property of the husband.

A wife could not make a will, except in regard to her specially protected property, unless with her husband's consent. This consent he might revoke at any moment, even after her death.

The Act did not apply to women married before it became law.

On December 29, 1870, a Married Woman's Property Act was passed by the Legislature of Victoria (Australia). Among other things it secured to married women the right to own and dispose of their real estate.

An Important Decision.

In 1871, the year after the passing of the first English Married Woman's Property Act, a very interesting and important case occurred. It will be remembered that until the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, with its limiting phrase "male persons," came into force women had possessed and exercised the right to vote in all local affairs, and that even after the passing of that Act continued to do so in non-corporate districts.

Thirty-four years after, when the Municipal Franchise Bill, 1869, was under consideration, this anomaly was pointed out, and the municipal vote was extended to women under the provisions of the new Act.

As at that time the very fact of marrying meant the giving up of a woman's property to her husband, except in the few cases in which some special settlement had been made, a married woman could not possibly acquire a voting qualification. After the passing of the Act of 1870, however, a number of married women were able to qualify.

In the municipal elections of 1871 a candidate for the Sunderland Ward of the Borough of Sunderland was returned by a majority of one vote only. All doubtful votes were therefore inquired into, and objection was taken to the fact that two women had voted. One of these was a married woman living apart from her husband, and paying rates and taxes in her own name. The other had been placed upon the register as a spinster, but had been married nine days before the election took place.

In January, 1872, the case was heard before Sir A. Cockburn. It was argued on behalf of the women that "coverture" being no longer a bar to the holding of property should no longer be a bar to the exercise of a vote. On the other side it was contended that a married woman was not a person in the eye of the law, and was not therefore "sui juris." Sir A. Cockburn decided that this latter view of the law was correct, and he therefore disallowed the women's votes and the councillor was unseated.

Dr. Pankhurst's Bill.

In 1873, Dr. Pankhurst drafted on behalf of the Married Woman's Property Committee a Bill to amend the Act of 1870. This Bill was introduced by Mr. Hinde Palmer in 1873. On February 14, the second reading was supported among others by Lord Coleridge, the Attorney-General, and carried by a majority of 21, the ayes being 124 and the noes 103.

On February 21, there was a "count out" before the Bill was reached. On March 4, a few minutes before the Bill was to have come on, the House decided that no opposed business should be taken after 12.30. The Bill was therefore again postponed, and time after time similar obstacles were raised up to prevent its being discussed. These during the one session amounted to: Six counts out; progress reported three times; postponements owing to 12 o'clock Rule, 15; other postponements, six. Finally the Bill passed through Committee too late to be proceeded with further.

At the general election of 1874, Mr. Hinde Palmer and 84 others favourable to the Bill were defeated. In the following session no Bill was introduced on behalf of the Married Woman's Property Committee.

During the same session (1874) Mr. Anderson, M.P. for Glasgow, succeeded in getting passed into law the Scotch Conjugal Rights Amendment Act. This extended to the local Sheriff Courts the power hitherto confined to the Court of Session in Edinburgh of granting protection orders to deserted wives. This was a great advantage for poor women.

Now followed a period of depression and discouragement among those who were striving to obtain justice for married women. It was difficult to convince the public, and some even of those who had before worked for the cause, that the Acts of 1870, and 1874, had not satisfactorily settled the question. The agitation was suspended for nearly a year, and was then renewed more vigorously than ever, owing largely to the efforts of Mrs. Jacob Bright, who had become the treasurer, and of the secretary, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. In 1876, no place could be obtained for the Bill, but in 1877, Lord Coleridge introduced a Married Woman's Property Act Amendment Bill, which was substantially the same as that drafted by Dr. Pankhurst and introduced by Mr. Hinde Palmer in 1873. This Bill came up for second reading in the

House of Lords on June 21. It was opposed by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cairns)—who, on June 21, 1870, had moved the second reading of Mr. Russell Gurney's Bill—and negatived without a division.

Meanwhile an attempt was being made in the House of Commons to improve the position of Scotch married women. A large petition from Edinburgh had been presented during the previous session, praying that the Act of 1870, should be extended to Scotland, and in 1877, Mr. Anderson introduced the Married Woman's Property Act (Scotland) Bill. On April 18, the second reading was opposed by the Lord Advocate (the Right Hon. W. Watson) on the ground that it went further than the English law. He admitted, however, that some change ought to be made, and on behalf of the Government agreed that the second reading should be assented to on condition that amendments to be proposed on behalf of the Government should be accepted, but that the Bill should go at least as far as the English Act of 1870. These amendments were found to amount to a rejection of the whole measure, except the clauses which secured to a married woman all wages and earnings acquired by her after the commencement of the Act, and which limited the liability of the husband for his wife's pre-nuptial debts to the amount of her property received by him through the marriage. The Lord Advocate, however, expressed his willingness to deal with the whole question comprehensively at a later period. The Bill in its mutilated form passed through the House of Commons, was carried through the House of Lords by the Earl of Rosebery, and came into operation on January 1, 1878.

Futile Attempts at Legislation.

In 1878, the English Bill was again introduced into the House of Commons. Mr. Hibbert secured a place for second reading on July 24, but the Government took that day, and also one for a resolution on July 18, 1879. Meanwhile Mr. Anderson had reintroduced the Scotch measure in 1878, and had obtained a place for second reading on May 31, but the sudden death of Mr. Wykeham Martin led to the adjournment of the House on that day, and the notice of opposition by the Lord Advocate afterwards destroyed all chance of the Bill's proceeding further during that session. It was again introduced on December 6, 1878, and the second reading was fixed for March 5, 1879, when it was passed without a division. Immediately afterwards Mr. Roger Montgomerie, M.P. for North Ayrshire, put down notice of opposition, and the Bill was effectively blocked for the rest of the session.

Mr. Anderson then appealed to the Government, reminding them of the pledge made by them in 1877, to bring the Scotch law in regard to married woman's property at least to the level of that obtaining in England. Thereupon the Lord Advocate informed Mr. Anderson that the Government had given instructions for the preparation of a Married Woman's Property Bill. On Friday, February 6, 1880, Mr. Anderson reintroduced his Bill, and the second reading was set down for June 2, but by that time a general election had intervened. The English measure was equally unfortunate, for it was to have come on for second reading on the same day.

During the election the question of married woman's property was laid before the majority of the Parliamentary candidates, and 300 of the members returned were pledged to support the reform.

Mr. Hibbert, who had had charge of the Bill for three sessions, Mr. Osborne Morgan, and Sir Charles Dilke, who had backed the Bill, had now all taken office under the Government. With three ardent supporters in the Government one might have expected to find married woman's property in the King's Speech, but it was not there. Mr. Hinde Palmer, however, who had been out of Parliament for some time, was re-elected, and took

charge of the Married Woman's Property Acts Consolidation Bill. On June 9, 1880, he moved the second reading of the Bill, which was agreed to without a division, Sir H. James, the Attorney-General, having assented to it on behalf of the Government.

Immediately afterwards the Scotch Bill was also moved and agreed to without a division. Both Bills were, however, blocked by Sir George Campbell, who at once put down notice of opposition to them. Owing to the rule not to discuss opposed business after 12 o'clock their progress was barred for the session. In this same session the Married Woman's Policies of Assurance (Scotland) Act of 1880 was passed. This provides that married women may effect policies of assurance for their separate use, free of the *jus mariti* and right of administration of their husbands and assignable without their consent, and that an assurance may be effected by a husband for his wife, and if it has been effected as a provision for her he is a trustee for her, and it is safe from his creditors.

A Deputation of M.P.'s.

On January 7, 1881, a deputation of members of Parliament waited upon the Lord Chancellor in support of the Married Woman's Property Acts Consolidation Bill, when he expressed himself as favourable to the proposed reform.

On January 2, the Bill again passed the second reading, and was referred to a Select Committee. The amended Bill was reported to the House on March 10, but Mr. Bridport at once put down notice of opposition, and succeeded in blocking the measure for the entire session.

The Scotch Bill passed the second reading by 230 to 33 votes on January 13, and was sent to a Select Committee. One of the witnesses examined before this Committee was Lord Fraser, a Judge in the Court of Session. He said:—

For my own part, I do not see the necessity for this legislation. I think that the protection that has been thrown around women under the Conjugal Rights Act is sufficient. If the husband deserts her, she can get protection; if she succeeds to property, then she can apply to the Court and have the whole of it, if it be small, or a sufficient quantity of it, set aside as a provision for her; and why she should be allowed to have money in her pocket to deal with as she thinks fit I cannot understand.

The Select Committee redrafted the Bill, and reported it as amended to the House on March 29. It came up for consideration on April 25, and on a division being challenged there were 69 votes for the Bill and 19 against. It was read a third time on April 29, introduced by the Lord Chancellor into the House of Lords on May 5, and read a second time on May 27. The Bill went into Committee on June 16, and was reported on June 23. At both these stages amendments highly advantageous to married women were introduced. On June 23, and 24, the Bill was read a third time, and passed, and amendments having been accepted by the Commons, it received the Royal Assent on July 18, 1881.

In 1882, the Lord Chancellor introduced the latter measure, which applied to England and Ireland, to the House of Lords on February 14. It was read a second time without division on March 7, passed through Committee on March 28, was reported on May 9, and read a third time on May 22. During the three months that the Bill was before the Lords no opposition was offered to its essential principle. The only hostile amendments moved were trivial in character, and negatived without a division. The only amendments introduced into the Bill were designed with the object of giving a fuller practical effect to its workings.

The Bill now became a Government measure, and was introduced into the Commons by the Right Hon. G. Osborne Morgan on June 2. It was read a second time on June 8, without a division.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"VANITY FAIR," FEBRUARY 19.

The Suffragettes are still troubling, and there is no respite for weary Ministers. The ladies are carrying by-election after by-election for the Conservatives, and they are fully justified in protesting that the attempt of the Liberals to treat a political offence as a police offence is disgraceful. Miss Christabel Pankhurst declares quite bravely in *The Times* that "the attempt of the Government to pour contempt on the movement by pretending that our agitations are in the nature of a street row will not succeed." We are very glad to hear it; if the ladies continue they will undoubtedly win, and they have already the support of more Progressives than the Government dreams of. Some of us believe that the influence of women, not only in voting, but also as Members of Parliament, would do a good deal to humanise our disgracefully savage penal laws. Some of us, too, have learned a good deal of humanity from our intercourse with women, and believe that the more efficient we can render their influence the better it will be for the State as for the individual. Therefore, we cheer on Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Pankhurst and the rest whenever we get the opportunity.

A Mendacious Home Secretary.

It is simply mendacious of the Home Secretary to say of the imprisoned Suffragettes that "they can come out of prison whenever they like," or that Mrs. Pankhurst "elected" to go to prison. As "Evelyn Sharp" points out in *The Times*, Mrs. Pankhurst can only regain her liberty by allowing herself to be bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. Would any male leader of a political movement consent to accept freedom at the price of a year's inaction?

"THE 'HEREFORD TIMES,' FEB. 22.

Despite the first sounds of the Indian Frontier War, there is in our view no event of the week so momentous and grievous as the fresh revelation or example of our treatment of political prisoners in England. It is unjust, brutal, indiscriminating. We hold this conviction wholly apart from our habitual support of the enfranchisement of women; and, in fact, our resentment at the gross abominations of the present system applies equally to the treatment of both sexes. Yet the legal cruelties revealed in the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her sixty sister suffragists bring the shameful truth into vivid prominence. Whether the demand for women's suffrage be, as we believe, just and close at hand, or not, the main features of our imprisonment of political offenders in the second and third divisions are utterly barbarous. It is no part of our intention to recall the horrors of the Star Chamber, or to narrate afresh the familiar atrocities of the prison system of a few years ago. But we must emphatically direct attention to Mrs. Pankhurst's account in another column of her treatment in Holloway Gaol. We have ventured to extract the narrative from the "Daily Telegraph," whom we would cordially thank for their service to humanity. It is necessary to bear in mind that Mrs. Pankhurst and the noble women who act with her are classed and treated with drunkards, brawlers, and the vilest characters—the latter, very frequently, being the product of some other infamous written or unwritten law. What is the offence of these women, these political agitators? As Miss Christabel Pankhurst points out in our correspondence columns, the charge of obstructing the police was of a purely technical character. Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends used no violence of any kind. Nor did they attempt to address an audience, or collect one, or walk in a body. They were merely using the thoroughfare to go from one place to another.

The police (excellent men, who are only obeying their instructions, and who have learned to respect these zealous, eloquent, and modest examples of womanhood) apprehended without resistance Mrs. Pankhurst and the rest, because they persisted in walking on a public highway in the direction of the far-distant House of Commons. Whether their ultimate destination was known or guessed does not in the least affect the propriety and peacefulness of their conduct. If a possible breach of the peace has to be either frustrated or punished, it is totally indefensible in 1908 that an Act of Charles II., or any other Act, should consign these (at the most) political Protestants to the same degradation as the lowest and most abandoned of our fellow-creatures. It has been ignorantly said that any of

these noble women could free themselves in a moment by simply entering into certain recognisances for a year. But is it possible that these complacent critics do not understand that this binding sacrifice of one year's freedom of political action or agitation (call it which you please) is unthinkable and impossible to every honourable patriot and mildest reformer? Was that the spirit of John Hampden in regard to the collection of Ship-Money?—an injustice not one whit more flagrant and pernicious than the denial of an equal vote to women. Doubtless many of these persecutors of women may have heard of John Hampden though we doubt very much if they grasp the real significance of that great man's attitude. But, be that as it may, we protest both against the disfranchisement of women in the mass, and against the brutal treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst and the other women now undergoing martyrdom in Holloway Gaol, with its dirty baths and boots and many actual gross inhumanities. Every elector will do his duty if he writes to the member of Parliament for his borough or division expressing his indignation, and every member of Parliament will do his duty if he stretches the rules of the House to the utmost, and constantly brings before the Government the abominable system of persecution which is being enforced under their very eyes. Then, if the Government do not quickly introduce some amending Act, let the mayors and rural authorities throughout the country—and failing them private citizens—call public meetings in every town and village to protest and petition against these latter-day violations of our liberty and common humanity.

"BON ACCORD," FEBRUARY 20.

The Suffragists are not only making history; they are teaching it. Mrs. Pankhurst was not charged under an out-of-date Act of Charles II., as the prosecutor, Mr. Muskett, senselessly threatened might be done when the first batch of ladies was tried last week, and the ignominious retreat from this cowardly threat is the most conclusive proof that the authorities were afraid of the consequences. The Suffragists would have welcomed such a prosecution, and, indeed, were disappointed when the charge was merely obstruction of the police under the Prevention of Crimes' Act. Why did the ladies not have a touch of Charles II. justice? Because it was discovered that a dangerous mistake had been made by Mr. Muskett. The law which this lawyer would have "resurrected" was one of a series of despotic measures that were ultimately the cause of James II. losing his crown. When the Commons won the victory at last, they passed new laws, one of which ensured "the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." Then it was the King alone who was regarded as a menace to the privileges of the people, but the Acts securing for Parliament what the monarch had endeavoured to secure for himself were left unrepealed. So the statute of Charles II. was not annulled.

The ladies who are at the head of the present movement evidently know their history well, and are determined to show that their methods to secure constitutional reform are not without precedent. During the hundred and forty years of unexampled Parliamentary corruption that followed the breaking of regal power in this country, there upgrew a form of despotism even worse than that suffered by the people under the Stuarts. The Suffragists regard the present glorified Parliamentary machine as the lineal successor of the iniquitous Governments of the first three Georges. No doubt this view is stronger than the actual circumstances warrant, but they look upon all the English judges as pocket editions of Lord Braxfield. That notorious lawyer laid down certain most orthodox dicta in the trial of Thomas Muir, of Hunter's Hill, for sedition. In a remarkable summing up he said, "The British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." "Mr. Muir had gone about telling the folk that a reform was absolutely necessary for preserving their liberty, which, if it had not been for him, they would never have known was in danger. Mr. Muir might have known that no attention could be paid to such a rabble as he harangued. What right had they to representation?"

To-day Britain execrates the memory of the judge who sentenced Muir to fourteen years' transportation for advocating Universal Suffrage and Short Parliaments. A future generation will similarly condemn the Liberal Government which tolerated the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her sister Suffragists for demanding a reform which is now admitted to have right, justice, and popular sympathy on its side.

THE CAMBRIAN NEWS.

The *Cambrian News*, in its issue of February 21, takes up the statesmanlike warning uttered by Mrs. Pankhurst on the night of her arrest, and drives the point home. It says:—

At a meeting held shortly before the apprehension of a large batch of women demonstrators, Mrs. Pankhurst said the present appeal was the last one to the Prime Minister to stop the struggle before the women's movement got so big and powerful that they would not be able to control their forces. Men do not yet believe that the movement for enfranchisement is likely to assume dangerous dimensions, or that women will ever resort to acts such as men would be likely to resort to if pushed to extremes. The disposition of the shallower male opponents of the women's movement is to look at it with contempt, and to treat it with ridicule. Whether that attitude is justifiable is questionable, for women can be even more dangerous than men when roused to action, as events in France have made clear more than once within living memory. The imprisonment of women from different parts of the country is having a distinct educating influence upon women all over the country, and once the movement begins to grow rapidly and to manifest itself in ways adverse to the public peace it will soon pass, not only beyond the power of women to control it, but beyond the power of the police, and there will be nothing for it but military force.

And it concludes as follows:—"There are fifty women in prison. The numbers will increase, and sooner or later Parliament will have to do justice to women who are more than half the population of the country. There are still some male idiots who believe that to be a male is the only necessary qualification for justice!"

THE LONDON PRESS

ON MR. ASQUITH'S REPLY.

On Friday, January 31, the morning after Mr. Asquith had given an answer in the negative to the Suffragist deputation, all the London influential Conservative dailies had a leading article on the subject. Of these *The Times* alone was unsympathetic. After condemning the methods adopted by the women to press their demands, it concluded by saying:—

The ladies must try to imitate the patience exercised in similar cases by mere man. For our own part we cannot affect to hope that their patience will be rewarded in the end.

This has, surely, the charm of novelty. "Be patient and you will see you do not get what you want" is unusual advice, but it is certainly sound common-sense.

The *Standard* article, though equally severe on our methods, showed signs of an intention ultimately to support our claim. It contained the following:—

Speaking for ourselves, we have long been disposed to give calm and dispassionate consideration to any reasonable arguments in favour of conferring the responsibility, as well as the advantages, such as they are, of a vote for Parliament on a sex which, in spite of the very heavy domestic burdens imposed on it, yet includes many who are unquestionably capable of exercising the right of franchise, and whose energetic co-operation in the business of politics would be, and is, welcomed.

The article in the *Morning Post* was distinctly friendly to our cause, and its criticism of our militant form of agitation far less condemnatory than is usually the case. In one place it states that:—

"It is clear that the Government has recognised the 'Suffragettes' as no ordinary foe."

It proceeds to give the meaning of Mr. Asquith's answer in plain words, and then remarks: "That, with a little reading between the lines, is the gist of Mr. Asquith's pronouncement yesterday. Formally it was addressed to a body of Suffragists—a deputation from societies which have taken no part in the more notorious exhibitions of recent years, and discountenance personal contact with the police. Its real, if indirect, aim is obviously the 'Suffragettes.'"

Then, before concluding with a little advice to the militant Suffragists, which we are content not to take too seriously, it gave expression to this significant opinion:—

The modern franchise is based on no discoverable principle, and therefore affords no reason for excluding women. There is, on the other hand, good reason for including them, not on any narrowly political grounds or because there is the slightest chance of their improving the government of the country, but simply as a symbol of the opportunities and the widened horizon which should now be

women's as well as men's. To ask for equal treatment for the two sexes is not to commit the absurdity of forgetting their differences, or of supposing that ultimately they can cease to have their special functions in the community. Rather is it to recognise that natural differences are strong enough not to need reinforcement by artificial distinctions. There is peculiarly little sense in a distinction which, excluding women as such from direct political action, must rest upon the view that it is less important for those who spend their days in the education of the next generation to have broad views and interests than it is for their husbands who spend their days in offices.

The *Daily Telegraph* leading article was along the same lines, but in another part of the paper of the same date (January 31) there was a most illuminating account of the progress of the woman's movement, and in particular of our organisation. Here are a few extracts:—

Suffragist War Chest—£20,000 Wanted.

So far as any outsider can judge from appearances, the association which seems to transact most work at headquarters is the Social and Political Union at Clements Inn. The suite of chambers there extends to no fewer than 13 rooms, and a staff of something like half a score of young women is constantly engaged in the work of the office. A large black board fixed to the wall just by the entrance door conveys some notion of the ramifications of the work, for on it are chalked the list of meetings that have been arranged all over the Kingdom, and the names of the speakers allotted to each. At a glance one can thus see the disposition of the suffragist army from day to day, and the kind of work each contingent has in hand.

Into three main categories does the work of the Social and Political Union fall. The first, or educational, consists in a permanent crusade designed to create and foster a public opinion all over the country in favour of "Votes for Women," the second, or electioneering, deals with the campaign which is set on foot against the official Radical candidate at every by-election, and the third concerns itself with the more militant or aggressive aspects of the work—such as annoying Cabinet Ministers whosoever they may be found, scandalising magistrates by protests in open Court against man-made laws, passive resistance to the tax gatherer and rate collector, and similar suffragist amenities.

The Sinews of War.

Of course, all this sort of thing cannot be done without money, and a good deal of it too. Anyone who has seen these Suffragists at work in by-election after by-election might be tempted to inquire where all the requisite money comes from. In the case of the Victoria-street and Buckingham-street institutions—those with which Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Despard are respectively connected—their scale of expenditure does not attract so much attention, because somehow it does not give the impression of being either large or continuous. No one who has seen the by-election work of Mrs. Pankhurst's organisation would suggest for a moment that its expenditure is either large or lavish. On the contrary, these ladies seem to have the knack of making a little money go a long way. But when one sees a group of ladies from Clements Inn at every by-election, no matter in what part of the country it may be, no matter whether in Jarrow or in Mid-Devon, the idea of continuous expenditure readily suggests itself. And yet, after all, no secrecy whatever is observed in regard to the financial administration of the Union. On the contrary, a balance-sheet is published half-yearly, and the auditor has more than once paid the ladies the highest compliments for the care, lucidity, and accuracy with which their accounts are kept. The last published accounts of the Union, covering the six months to August 31 of last year, show a total expenditure of about £2,600, whereof the largest items were £680 in respect of salaries of office staff and organisers and £467 in name of expenses at seven by-elections. As the Union possesses a staff of 15 organisers, it is evident that the scale of salaries paid by the Union is anything but extravagant.

At the present moment the Union is making a special appeal for a sum of £20,000, which would form a sort of war chest for the prosecution of their crusade. Though the appeal was only launched in the end of May last year a sum of over £4,680 has already been subscribed. And the subscribers, it should be noted, are nearly all women. This figure itself shows the amount of enthusiasm which lies behind the movement; but it will be seen, at the same time, that on the scale shown by the last published accounts it does not quite represent a year's expenditure. The ladies, however, have unlimited faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause.

The *Daily Telegraph* also devoted three columns to the movement on Tuesday, February 18, giving a full description of the life of prisoners in the second division in Holloway, and referring at length to the weekly "At Home" in the Portman Rooms on February 17.

SELF-DENIAL WEEK—RESULT.

"Result? I thought the result was to be a secret until March 19!"

Yes. The result as determined in total cash receipts will be kept a secret until it is disclosed on the platform of the Royal Albert Hall on the night of our great meeting. But there is an infinitely greater result which is no secret, a result which is evident to all who are at the heart of this great movement. In our members who have risen so magnificently to the occasion there is a new consciousness of self-mastery and power, a new zeal and burning enthusiasm, a new spirit of glad surrender to the call of national duty and human service.

And there is something more. There is a new sweetness in life because of all the warmth, all the generosity and kindness of response that have come from the outside world. Eagerness to help to fall in with every suggestion, to respond to every appeal, has been our continual experience throughout the week. From the lady who lets her West-End residence and sends the year's rent to us, "in order to be free when called upon for national duty by going to prison," to the working woman that cuts off her tea allowance; from the mother who sends, with the consent of her daughters, the beautiful lace she had meant to hand down to them, to the distinguished novelist who holds a "Votes for Women" collecting box in the street, there has been but one feeling expressed, and that is the joy of the service.

What does it mean? What is behind all this devotion and energy, this readiness to face ridicule and to front the jeering mob, this willingness to give and to surrender? What is at the back of it? A woman—fifty women, sitting in the gloom and solitude of the narrow prison cell. Fifty women who have laid down six weeks of life and have accepted in exchange a living death. And amongst them our leader. There she sits, shut away from the sun and the stars, separated from all human fellowship, clad in the reproach of prison clothes, subject to the humiliation of prison discipline—that great spirit who has won our deepest reverence and love.

What is any sacrifice that we can make compared with the sacrifice made by these women? It is they who set the standard. It is their spirit that speaks and inspires, though their voice has been silenced. How can we do enough? There is only one feeling in all our hearts—we must set self aside, we must give all we can, do all we can. There is but one question that we ask of ourselves. It is: "What more can I do?"

Self-Denial Week is over, but there are six weeks of ordeal for Mrs. Pankhurst and our brave comrades. Six weeks of waiting for us. How can we turn these weeks to the best account?

Some of our members want to keep the six weeks as a time of continual self-denial and special service to the cause. If they will write to me, I will suggest some new ways in which they can show that they are moved by the same spirit that prompts our comrades in prison to pay down so great a price for human progress.

The more strenuously we live and work for our cause during the next six weeks, the greater joy we shall be preparing for the prisoners on the day of their release. For the greater will be the harvest of their sowing.

During these weeks we will obey Mrs. Pankhurst's behest to "work, work, work." We will prepare to put all thought of self away, and keep our "Lent" in fellowship with those who are in prison. Then we will joyfully keep the feast together on the day when our last prisoner is released.

Concert in Aid of the Funds.

In order to help the funds of the W.S.P.U. Miss Una Dugdale is making arrangements for a concert to take place on March 10. Mrs. Hughes, of 92, Lancaster-gate, has kindly lent her house for the occasion, and several well-known artistes have promised their services. Among the latter are: Miss Vera Margolies, but recently returned from touring with Madame Albani; Miss Grainger Kerr, Miss Boswall Reid, Madame Inez Evers, and Monsieur Désiré Dajauw. Miss Beatrice Harraden will read a chapter from her famous novel, "Ships that Pass in the Night." Tickets, which may be obtained from Miss Una Dugdale, 13, Stanhope-place, Marble Arch, are 5s. and 3s. each, the prices including tea. The sum raised by Miss Dugdale's concert will be announced at the Albert Hall meeting on March 19.

OUR LETTER BOX.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—To show my appreciation of the sacrifice Mrs. Pankhurst and the other noble women have made on behalf of the "Enfranchisement of Women," I registered a vow at the time of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest that I would make myself responsible for the sale of at least £6 worth of tickets for the demonstration at Albert Hall on March 19. Already I have £3 in hand for tickets sold.

I much regret that I have only my evenings to devote to this work, otherwise I would double the £6.

Yours, &c.,

ALBERTA W. RUSSELL.

26, Franconia-road, Clapham Common, S.W.

DEAR SIR,—I see a distinct likeness between Mr. Muskett and Lewis Carroll's "Humpty Dumpty."

Listen to what he says. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful voice, "it means just what I choose it to mean. neither more nor less." Mr. Muskett calls a purely political offence "disorderly conduct and obstruction."

There is no question "which is the Master" in Mr. Muskett v. the Suffragists' case. Yours &c.,

LOUISE JOPLING ROWE.

7, Pembroke-gardens, Kensington.

February 17.

COMRADES!—Permit me to convey my sincere congratulations and appreciation of your very excellent paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, a copy of which has just reached me. I have heard periodically, through your fellow-worker, Mrs. N. A. Martel, of the great progress the N.W.S.P.U. is making. This publication more than confirms her glowing reports, and we can see that its mission is not alone to help the special cause for which it saw the light, but to educate the future mothers of the rising generation.

Your champion of the cause, Mr. Keir Hardie, received a warm message from your Australian sisters at "The Trades Hall" welcome but a few days ago, and in response thereto he spoke in eloquent language of the splendid and unselfish efforts put forth by the members of the N.W.S.P.U., and he prophesied that the movement would be crowned with success in record time. We think so too.

It seems almost incredible that such rough treatment should be meted out to your comrades; but it is good to know that this has only occurred in isolated cases, and is the outcome of blind and ignorant prejudice on the part of a few men.

With every conscious thought for that success which is already assured,

Ever your Comrade, for truth and liberty,

FREDERICK ALLMAN.

Royal Chambers,

Hunter-street, Sydney, December 21, 1907.

A Schoolboy's Self-Denial.

I had been asking a happy wife and mother to help the cause of those less happy than herself, and I had been describing the hardships brave women undergo in fighting for that cause. She opened her purse, while her son, a little lad of barely 13, who had been reading at the other end of the room, came and stood before me, his hands in his pockets. The mother handed me some coins, and as I took them, the boy's hand was on mine: "Will this penny help the Suffragettes?" The boy's other hand came out of a second pocket, this time with a shilling. "Here, give them that." "But can you spare it? Take the penny back anyhow." "Oh, no. Let the Suffragettes have the thirteen pence. I have ninepence a week, you know."

So that boy gave on his own initiative his income for a week and a half. How many of us have done as much?

J. A. DESIREE.

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A SYMPATHETIC TRIBUTE.

At a meeting held at 45, Royal York-crescent, Clifton, Bristol, on February 24, the following resolution was put forward:—

That this meeting of the Bristol and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, which having always worked on constitutional lines, at the same time deplore the treatment which has been meted out in prison to members of the Social and Political Union, who should have been treated as political prisoners; and that this resolution should be sent to the Prime Minister, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone.

Moved by GERALDINE HODGSON (Chairman).
Seconded by MRS. CURTIS.

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried.

FOREIGN NOTES.

The French Suffragists have now their own monthly paper, *La Suffragiste*, under the editorship of Dr. Madeline Pelletier, a well-known writer. With the February number commences a monthly column of English news, "L'Agitation Suffragiste en Angleterre," contributed by Miss Lina Oswald, who devotes the greater part of her article to chronicling the activity of the N.W.S.P.U.

A Frankfurt woman's paper, the "*Mode von Heute*," published in its number of January 15, an article by Fraulein Anna Schröder, of Hamburg, on some of the meetings of the N.W.S.P.U. which she attended when in England. The descriptions of the October "At Home" and the Queen's Hall meeting, with its splendid collection, are calculated to give our German sisters an idea of the immense amount of propaganda work which is going on here in England, and of which they learn but little through their ordinary newspapers.

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

Protest Meetings.

- Feb. 26.—Leeds Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines.
27.—Chester Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines, Miss Brooks.
28.—Manchester .. Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines.
29.—Preston Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.
29.—Hull Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Wilson.
Mar. 1.—Bury Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.
1.—Rochdale Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.
2.—Bradford Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines.
3.—Lancaster Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.
25.—Sheffield Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe.

In Lancashire and Yorkshire we have been very busy utilising the interest taken in our self-denial projects to advertise the series of "protest meetings," which commenced on Saturday with one at Halifax. Whilst working up the series in the towns and cities cited above, Mrs. Massey, Mrs. Baines, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Brooks, and I have worn our Self-Denial sashes everywhere, with the result that our work has been kept before the public, and additional interest has been aroused in the meetings. Hull is having a jumble sale; Leeds has been doing a "roaring trade" in toffee and peppermint creams, whilst the piano-organ tour initiated by Mrs. Baines, and carried on during the last few days by the help of voluntary workers, has been productive of both sympathetic and practical interest. Another Leeds member has just given a most successful musical evening. Most of the Leeds members, too, have boxes for the reception of the small change that some do not care to subscribe to the collecting card. I have found members in other local unions all busy in their own ways raising funds for the war-chest. By the time this is in print more of the protest meetings will have been held. Those for Sheffield and Bradford have been in the hands of Adela Pankhurst. Mrs. Baines has looked after Preston, Bury, and Rochdale, whilst I am helping in the organisation of the Leeds, Manchester, Hull, and Liverpool meetings. We hope to bombard the local M.P.'s and Cabinet Ministers every morning with the resolutions passed at these meetings, and hope to get many men voters to write personally to their members that they be in their places to support the Second Reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill. To-day we have

spoken to a magnificent open-air gathering in Sheffield, the resolution 'That this meeting protests against the action of the Government in refusing votes to duly qualified women, so forcing them into conflict with the law with consequent suffering and imprisonment,' was carried with two dissentients only. To-morrow we speak in the Dewsbury Market-place, and on Tuesday in Huddersfield. Then come Leeds, Chester, Manchester, Hull, Preston, Bury, Rochdale, Bradford, and Lancaster so far as present arrangements go. Following on its protest meeting the Sheffield Union is arranging for a mass women's meeting on March 25, and I trust other local Unions will follow suit, on the lines of the great London women's meetings.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Scottish Notes.—We have had this week a most successful series of meetings in Glasgow and neighbourhood, and have gained many new members. We started at Motherwell on Monday evening, with an audience of over a thousand in the Town Hall. To Miss Seymour, who came in Mrs. Pankhurst's place, we are greatly indebted. Miss HESSIE FINDLAY voluntarily came to our platform to move a vote of thanks to our speakers, thus closing a thoroughly rousing meeting. On Tuesday evening we had a meeting of teachers, convened by special invitation, the chair being taken by Mr. Martin Haddon, of the Glasgow School Board. About 800 men and women teachers attended, the speakers being Dr. Marion Gilchrist, Miss Seymour, and myself. I may mention that Miss Seymour's speaking has won much appreciation, and there is a generally expressed desire that she should come again. Miss Hamilton, head of the Pupil Teachers' Institute, here moved a vote of thanks in an effective little speech, and at the close of the meeting a number of ladies were enrolled on our membership.

The Athenæum Hall meeting on Wednesday evening was our most important fixture for the week, and fulfilled our best hopes. The meeting was specially remarkable in that it was the first occasion, at least in Glasgow, when a considerable portion of the hall was reserved for booked seats. The audience justified the experiment.

Dr. John Hunter made a capital chairman, and his speech was a vigorous indictment of the attitude of the Liberal Government.

Lady Ramsay in her speech remarked that the Government had reached the point when it must either "climb down" or prepare to "tumble down" before very long.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech was a masterly exposition of the necessity for militant action, and she gave also a graphic account of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest, concluding her speech with the eloquent appeal for funds, which drew forth in response a collection of nearly £13, and promises of 28 guineas more.

Thursday we held two meetings, one in Hillhead Burgh Hall in the afternoon, presided over by Miss Burnet, where Lady Ramsay and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed an audience of West End ladies, some of whom were thereby drawn to our ranks. The evening meeting was at Hamilton, and was one of the most successful political meetings held in that town.

HELEN FRASER.

The Song of the Suffragette.

(To the tune of "There is nae luck about the house.")

Oh! Womenkind of England now,
Be worthy of your blood;
Let Courage shine upon your brow,
In spite of Men and Mud!

"For Britains never shall be slaves!"
Now, was this said in joke?
The Flag of Freedom only waves
O'er half the Island's folk!

Come, Men of England! show your pluck,
And free your Women too;
About a House there is no luck,
Unless it's ruled by two!

LOUISE JOPLING ROWE.

MISS FOLKARD.

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(Exclusive of Self-Denial Cards.)

January 23 to February 24.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	4,683	19	11	Anonymous, Falmouth	10	0	0	Anonymous	0	10	0
Miss A. E. Billingham	2	10	0	Do.	5	0	0	Miss F. Corbett	1	0	0
Miss Sarah Hume	1	0	0	Mrs. Williams (By-election	1	10	0	Mrs. Clara H. Stott	0	5	0
Mrs. Monck-Mason	5	0	0	Fund)	1	10	0	Mrs. Riddell	0	10	0
The Misses Brown	0	10	0	Mrs. E. Warren	1	1	0	Miss Riddell	0	10	0
Miss M. Alice Dugdale	0	10	0	Miss E. Hamilton	0	2	6	Miss Mary Robertson	1	0	0
Mrs. E. Letherbrow	1	0	0	W. L. G. Atkinson, Esq.	2	2	0	Miss Anna Robertson	1	0	0
Geo. Twell, Esq.	1	1	0	Miss Boodles	1	1	0	Miss Mary Savage	0	10	0
Miss Gordon	0	12	6	Mme. Sophie S. de Howard	1	0	0	Mrs. Lindsay Milne	0	10	0
Miss Gordon, drawing-room				Mrs. Rose L. Yates	2	2	0	Mrs. Bayne	0	10	0
meeting	1	0	4	Mrs. Ashworth Hallett	25	0	0	Miss Fothergill	0	5	0
Miss Helen MacRae	0	5	0	Miss Bryson	1	0	0	Miss Alice Last	1	1	0
Miss E. A. Thompson	0	1	0	Miss Edith Brown	0	1	0	Mrs. Amy Bowley	0	2	6
Mrs. and Miss Branch	1	0	0	A Lady	0	10	0	Mrs. Edith Beavis	0	13	0
Miss Ethel Cohen	0	10	0	Miss Hilda M. Smith	0	5	0	Mrs. Brownlow	1	0	0
Mrs. A. Blissett	1	1	0	Miss Lord	0	5	0	Miss Mackenzie	0	5	0
Miss May Sinclair	1	0	0	Mrs. Rodney	0	10	0	Miss Juliette Heale	2	2	0
Mrs. E. Smith	2	0	0	Miss O. Myers	0	10	0	Miss Sydney K. Phelps	1	10	0
Miss Juliette Heale	2	2	0	Mrs. Sidley	1	0	0	Anonymous	1	0	0
Miss A. E. Dines	0	10	0	Miss Beatrice R. Dall (by				Miss Violet Taylor	1	0	0
Miss Harrop	1	0	0	election)	5	0	0	Miss Emily Duncan	5	0	0
Mrs. Lorisgnol	1	1	0	Helensburgh meeting, half-				Mrs. Frank Wallace	1	0	0
Miss Marie Leddam	0	12	8	profit	4	10	0	Mrs. Hugolin Hawels	2	0	0
Miss Turner	0	5	0	Miss A. E. Wilson	10	0	0	Miss Fairbairns, M.A.	0	10	0
Aberdeen Sympathiser	0	10	0	— Lodman, Esq.	0	4	0	Mrs. Crowther	0	10	6
Mrs. Billingham	5	0	0	Miss Jessie Smith	1	0	0	Mrs. K. Vulliamy	5	0	0
Guarantee weekly	0	15	0	Miss Ernestine Mills, ros. a				Lady Knyvett	2	2	0
Mrs. James Williams	5	0	0	week for six weeks	3	0	0	Miss Eustace Smith	0	10	0
Mr. and Mrs. F.W. Pethick-				Mrs. Ramsbottom	5	0	0	Mrs. Wright Biddulph	1	0	0
Lawrence (remainder of				Miss A. Gordon	5	0	0	Mrs. Mona Caird	2	0	0
promise)	70	0	0	Mrs. H. Lowy	20	0	0	Miss E. W. Allen	1	1	0
Mrs. Cobden Unwin	5	0	0	Mrs. J. Bayley	1	1	0	Dr. L. Garrett Anderson	25	0	0
Mrs. Russell Martineau	2	0	0	Miss Blanche Smith	30	0	0	"An Irishman"	0	10	0
Miss Blanche Ravenscroft	1	1	0	Mrs. Arnette E. Bear	3	3	0	Mrs. Edith M. Ison	0	2	8
Miss Agnes W. Watson	1	1	0	Miss Clemence Housman	5	0	0	Mrs. Galsworthy	5	0	0
Miss Arup	0	10	0	Miss K. S. Martin	0	5	0	Miss Hargreaves	5	0	0
Miss Joachim	50	0	0	L. M.	50	0	0	Miss Elizabeth Wilson	1	1	0
E. A. M.	1	0	0	Miss Morton	1	1	0	Mrs. B. C. Staley	0	4	0
Miss C. L. Sheppard	1	0	0	"Billito"	100	0	0	Miss D. Walenn	0	5	0
Mrs. Bonwick	1	0	0	Mrs. H. G. Candy	0	5	0	Mrs. Ayrton	100	0	0
Miss Krabbe	2	0	0	Mrs. Frances E. Bright	1	0	0	Miss A. Sharp	3	3	0
Miss Florence Hughes	5	0	0	A. G. Corbett, Esq.	0	2	6	Miss E. W. Cobb	0	10	0
Miss Clutterbuck	3	0	0	Viscountess Harborton	5	0	0	Miss Blacklock	0	5	0
E. F., Prison Fund (rs. each				Miss Mary Blathwayt	1	0	0	Miss Gertrude Anderson	0	10	0
prisoner)	0	4	0	Miss Jessie Muntz	13	0	0	Mrs. Anderson	0	10	0
Mrs. M. Gentle	3	0	0	Miss A. M. Priestman	5	0	0	Mrs. E. Ashton	0	5	0
Miss Beatrice Harraden	1	1	0	Miss Ada C. Wright	20	0	0	Miss Ashton	0	2	6
Miss Agnes Guest	0	10	0	Mrs. W. Gordon	5	0	0	Dr. Janet Campbell	1	1	0
Miss Nellie Smith	1	1	0	Mrs. Mary M. White	3	19	0	E. A. Harbord, Esq.	2	2	0
Miss N. A. Smith; Prison				Miss Maud F. Roll	1	0	0	Mrs. Cobden Sicket	1	1	0
Fund	0	5	0	Miss Mordan	100	0	0	Mrs. Lightman	0	10	0
Miss Janet E. St. Clair	0	10	6	Mrs. S. Browne	0	10	0	Mrs. W. Edwards	1	0	0
Miss Jane Clapperton	0	5	0	Miss Louis Hunting	1	1	0	B. M. C. Ireland (Prison			
Dr. J. W. Ley	1	1	0	Miss Ethel Tollemache	1	0	0	Fund)	0	2	6
Miss F. W. Currey	1	0	0	Miss Garahan	3	0	0	Miss Bertha Fowler	1	0	0
Mrs. Wm. Murray	7	0	0	Mrs. Wilkinson	1	1	0	Mrs. Morgan	1	0	0
Miss F. Newsam	2	0	0	Mrs. E. Brown	1	1	0	Mrs. Workman	5	0	0
Miss Mary Tregarthen	0	1	0	Mrs. C. Turle	5	0	0				
Mrs. Alice Dax	0	1	0	Mrs. S. A. Price	0	2	6				
Miss Janet McLeod	0	1	0	Miss D. Price	0	2	6				
Mrs. Goudge	1	0	0	Miss O. Dorman	0	2	6				
Mrs. Lizzie Morris	10	0	0	Miss M. Corbett	0	2	6				
Sir John Hext	0	10	0	Mrs. J. L. Clarke	0	2	6				
Mrs. Balgarnie	0	5	0	Mrs. D. E. Shaw	0	4	6				
Mrs. Lucy Calway	1	0	0	Mrs. A. Davis	0	5	0				
Miss Dorothy Pethick	10	0	0	Mrs. Rinder	0	7	0				
Miss Kate Willison	1	0	0	Mrs. Sharpe	0	10	0				
Miss Lena Wilcocks	0	5	0	Miss L. Chapman	0	10	0				
Miss Janet H. Thomson	0	5	0	Dr. G. Macroy	0	10	0				
Miss M. E. Curtis	1	1	0	Mrs. Jameson	0	10	0				
Miss Evelyn C. Haig	1	0	0	Miss Walenn	1	0	0				
Miss Cecilia W. Haig	1	0	3	Miss E. S. Dugdale	1	0	0				
Anonymous, Aberdeen	0	6	0	Mrs. L. Corbett	1	0	0				
Miss Mathew	0	10	0	Mrs. Budd	0	2	6				
Norwich Labour Church				Miss Alice Heale	2	2	0				
(lecture fee, Miss C.				Mrs. Grenfell Hill	1	0	0				
Pankhurst)	2	2	0	Miss Gertrude Lowy	0	10	0				
Dr. Mabel Hardie	1	0	0	Mrs. Frances E. Rowe	1	0	0				
Miss Helen Macdonald	0	5	0	Mrs. Millicent Lawrence	10	0	0				
Miss Scott Smith	1	0	0	Mrs. Alice Cameron	1	0	0				
Miss Margaret Johnston	0	2	6	Mrs. Mary A. Jagger	5	0	0				
Miss Dorothy Craske	0	10	0	Mrs. Emma Wood	1	1	0				
Miss Barbara Hunt	5	0	0	Miss R. Barrett (1st week's							
Anonymous	0	2	6	salary)	2	0	0				
Anonymous	0	2	6	The Misses Townley	10	0	0				
Dr. Bone	0	10	0	Do. (rs. each prisoner)	3	0	0				
Miss Lucy Newton	2	2	0	Miss M. Patterson	1	0	0				
Miss Margaret Barry	1	0	0	Miss Constance Maud	7	0	0				
Anonymous	1	0	0	Mrs. G. Bales	0	5	0				
Miss Florence White	1	0	0	Mrs. Louisa B. Stevens	3	0	0				
Mrs. Nevitt Bennett	5	0	0	Mrs. F. E. Langley	0	1	6				
Miss Florence Haig	20	0	0	Miss Gertrude Ansell	2	2	0				
Mrs. Hilda Williams	0	10	0	Mrs. Everest	0	5	0				
Rev. Alan Greenwell	0	10	0	Mrs. Priestly	0	13	6				
Miss Braithwaite	0	10	0	Miss Bull	1	0	0				
Miss E. M. Ashford	0	10	0	Miss Marquardt	5	0	0				
Miss Hutchinson	0	1	0	Mrs. Angus F. Gordon	1	0	0				
Miss F. Fox	0	2	6	Mrs. Stratford	1	1	0				
Miss C. Briggs	0	5	0	Mrs. Ennis Richmond	0	10	6				
The Misses Lawrence	5	0	0	Miss Jessie Wayne	1	0	0				
Miss Alys Barry	0	10	6	Miss Amy Wayne	1	0	0				
Miss K. Fairless (By-election				Miss Molly Postlethwaite	1	1	0				
Fund)	10	0	0	Mrs. Aylmer Maude	1	0	0				
Miss Brewster	0	5	0	Miss Mary Geoghen	1	0	0				
Mrs. G. Peers	0	5	0	Mrs. A. M. Stert	1	0	0				
Mrs. M. Chandler	0	5	0	Miss Rebecca Morton	1	0	0				
Miss L. Drucker	0	2	6	Miss Carding	0	2	6				
Mr. and Mrs. Dingle	1	1	0	Mrs. Eugenie M. Baker	2	0	0				
W. Caldicott, Esq.	1	0	0	Miss S. A. Turle	5	0	0				
Alderman Millington, J.P.	1	1	0	Mrs. Emily D. Cobb	5	0	0				
Mrs. Herbert Bud	0	10	0	Mrs. Macdonald	5	0	0				
Mrs. C. Turle	1	0	0	M. S. W.	1	1	0				
Mrs. E. Zangwill	1	0	0	M. J. W.	1	1	0				
Miss E. K. Lelecheur	1	0	0	Miss Kate E. Hickson	0	10	0				
Mrs. C. M. Wilson	5	0	0	Robert Cox, Esq.	0	4	0				
Mrs. S. Fletcher	0	3	0	E. H. N. Major, Esq.	0	1	0				
Mrs. McNeill	1	0	0	Mrs. L. C. Turner	0	2	6				
Mrs. Ward	1	0	0	Mrs. W. R. Carey	0	10	0				
Miss Dora M. Heckels	5	0	0	Lady Carbutt	25	0	0				
Mr. and Mrs. Russell	1	0	0	Anonymous	0	2	0				
George Wood, Esq.	0	2	6	Miss Una Dugdale	1	0	0				
Mrs. Fornoe	0	10	6	Mrs. Boswell Reid	0	10	0				
Mrs. M. Taylor (£50 By-				Miss E. H. E. Kelly	1	0	0				
election Fund)	60	4	0	Miss Kate Kelly	0	5	0				
Mrs. Ann Richardson	10	0	0	Miss G. C. Hay	0	10	0				
Mrs. Shore Nightingale	0	10	0								

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to the End of March (as far as at present arranged).

Feb. 27	London, 4, Clements Inn	At Home	8 p.m.
	Chester, Protest Meeting	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7 p.m.
Feb. 28	Manchester, Memorial Hall	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines, Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Feb. 29	Liverpool, Protest Meeting	Miss Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Hammersmith, The Broadway	Miss New	8 p.m.
	Hull, Beverley-road Baths	Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Willson	8 p.m.
	Preston, Protest Meeting	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
Mar. 1	Bury, Hall	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
Mar. 2	Rochdale, Town Hall Square	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	3 p.m.
	Thames Ditton, Ardenne	Miss Seymour	3 p.m.
	Bradford	Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines	8 p.m.
Mar. 3	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8.30 p.m.
	West Leeds, Voters' Meeting		
	Lancaster, Protest Meeting	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
Mar. 4	Wood Green, "At Home,"		
	Unity Hall		
Mar. 5	Woolwich, Presbyterian Church	Mrs. Drummond	7.30 p.m.
	Hyde Park, Albion-street		
Mar. 6	Theydon Bois, Rigg's Retreat	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4 p.m.
Mar. 10	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Dr. Garrett Anderson	8.30 p.m.
	Petersfield, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Neal, Mrs. Eates	8 p.m.
	Lancaster Gate	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
Mar. 11	Release of Mrs. Rigby and Mrs. Titterton, Holloway Prison		8 a.m.
	Bradford Law Students' Society, Debate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3.30 p.m.
	Mrs. Temple, Dover-street, W.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	9 p.m.
	Grosvenor-street, W.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
Mar. 12	Onslow Gardens, S.W.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Mar. 13	Release of Miss Annie Kenney, and Mrs. Baldock	Holloway Prison	8 a.m.
Mar. 16	Election Meetings in Hastings		
Mar. 18	Release of Prisoners, Holloway Prison		8 a.m.
Mar. 19	London, Albert Hall, Great	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Baines, and others	8 p.m.
	Woman's Demonstration.	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8.15 p.m.
Mar. 20	Release of Mrs. Pankhurst and others, Holloway Prison		8 a.m.
Mar. 24	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8.30

VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT.

No. XVIII.

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Price One Halfpenny.



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The Editors,

"Votes for Women,"

4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Offices—4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Secretaries Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke.
Hon. Treasurer Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
Organising Secretary Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.
Bankers Messrs. Barclay and Co., Fleet-street, E.C.

In a few days our prisoners will all have left Holloway. Before this Supplement is published Mrs. Rigby will have been released, and found friends waiting to welcome her. Miss Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baldock will be set free on Friday morning, the 13th inst., at 8.30. All three ladies will be entertained at breakfast at 9.15 on the 13th at the Eustace Miles Restaurant, Chandos-street, Charing Cross. We may be sure that a large number of sympathisers will be at Holloway Prison at 8.30 and at the breakfast in order to welcome these women, each one of whom has been in prison before in connection with the movement. Tickets for the breakfast are 2s. each, and early application should be made for them, as accommodation is limited.

On Wednesday morning, March 18, at 8.30, the main body of the prisoners will be released. Among them are several of the most active members of the Union, so that a very hearty welcome awaits them also. At 9.15 they will breakfast at the Eustace Miles Restaurant. Each prisoner will make a short speech. Tickets, price 2s., may be obtained at 4, Clements Inn.

Two days later, on March 20, Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners leave Holloway. A carriage procession will be formed at 8.30 a.m., and will proceed to the Great Central Hotel, arriving in time for breakfast at 9.15. Members and friends are invited to bring their own carriages or to hire cabs. For the convenience of others brakes will be provided; those who wish to avail themselves of these must take tickets beforehand, which can be obtained from the ticket secretary, price 6d. each. A band will head the procession, and the conveyances will be decorated with "Votes for Women" banners.

The first of the series of lectures in the Portman Rooms was delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who showed that the present movement of women embraced far more than the mere possession of political power. Owing to the great interest which was evoked, it has been decided to reprint the lecture as a pamphlet, and it is hoped to have it ready in time to sell at the Albert Hall meeting on March 19. The second lecture, by Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., will have been given before this supplement is published. The other lectures of the course are to be by Mrs. Pankhurst, on March 24, on "The Importance of the Vote"; by Miss Elizabeth Robins, on March 31; and by myself, on April 7. I shall be glad if our friends will make these widely known, as they are the best means for interesting those outside the movement.

A proof of the keen interest which our movement has excited, is supplied by the great demand for tickets of admission to the Albert Hall meeting on Thursday, March 19. Those who wish to be present should lose no time in applying for tickets. Mrs. Pankhurst, who does not leave Holloway Prison till the following morning, cannot take the chair, but other released prisoners will be on the platform. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Baines, and myself.

Opening the Campaign at Peckham.

London members have now the opportunity they have long awaited, for a by-election is to take place at Peckham. Every supporter of the Union living in London is urged to communicate with Mrs. Drummond, when work will be allotted to her. A house-to-house canvass will be undertaken, and numerous open-air and indoor meetings will be held. This must be a woman suffrage election. It will be a prisoners' election too, for we hope to have the help of each one of the released prisoners. The first meeting of the campaign will be held on Friday, March 13.

At the Hastings election we were once more successful in winning away a large number of votes from the Government nominee. The women of Hastings were eager to attend our meetings, and undoubtedly used their influence to prevent the return of the Liberal candidate. Prominent Liberal women declined to work for their party in consequence of the refusal of the Government to grant Woman Suffrage. Many were the promises made to our workers by men Liberals that they would vote against the Government.

Mr. Lloyd George's Meeting.

It is rumoured that private Members of Parliament are soon to take counsel together as to the best means of promoting the interests of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. In the meantime, the N.W.S.P.U. has been taking vigorous action. A number of successful meetings have been held in the North of England and elsewhere to demand Government support for the Bill, and Mr. Lloyd George, the only Cabinet Minister who has made a public appearance since the second reading of the measure was carried, has been asked by representatives of the Union whether the Government will support the Bill. He has replied in a would-be conciliatory manner that he is a friend to our cause, and we are now endeavouring to explain to him that friendship which has no outcome in practical action does not satisfy us, and that we want, not expressions of sympathy, but an assurance that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is to be carried into law.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WHY PARLIAMENTARY ACTION SHOULD BE PROMPT.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

Reprinted from the "Daily Chronicle," Monday, March 9.

After three debates the present House of Commons has carried, by a large majority, the Second Reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Women Suffragists now demand that the Government shall afford special facilities for the further progress of the Bill.

The fact that the Parliamentary supporters of the measure consented to have it referred to a Committee of the whole House has certainly added to the difficulty of the position, because, had the Bill been sent upstairs, it would have passed through Committee without interruption by the other business before the House, whereas, as matters stand, some of the time of the House will have to be devoted to the Committee stage. However, this obstacle is by no means insuperable, and the Government, if they have the will, can find the way to provide for the further discussion of the Bill. As has been the case ever since the House of Commons took to debating woman suffrage 40 years ago, party politicians are now seeking about for plausible excuses for carrying the Bill no further. They tell us that only by withdrawing some other piece of public business can the Government find time to assist its progress. We who claim the vote cannot be expected to consider the withdrawal of another Bill too heavy a price to pay for the enactment of our own measure.

The Most Important Question.

To us, the most important political question is the enfranchisement of our sex, and indeed we may reasonably argue that as an essential preliminary to the consideration of measures vitally affecting our interests, we ought to be admitted to the Parliamentary franchise. This point of view ought to appeal with peculiar force to a Government whose watchword is supposed to be democracy. But the members of the National Women's Social and Political Union believe that no sacrifice of any measure dear to the heart of the Government will actually be necessary, and that if the House of Commons will try to transact the business of the Session with a little more than their customary expedition, the Women's Enfranchisement Bill can be carried in addition to those measures already on the Government programme.

As a further excuse why the Women's Enfranchisement Bill should not receive Government assistance, it has been said that this important constitutional change ought not to be made on the initiative of a private Member. It is quite true that the Government ought themselves to have introduced the Bill, but to argue that they cannot properly make themselves responsible for it at the present stage is mere splitting of hairs. An equally baseless argument against the immediate enactment of this measure is that the principle of the Bill has not yet been before the electorate at a General Election. The best way to refute this argument is flatly to deny the assertion upon which it is based, and to point out that the root principle of the Bill was recognised in Magna Charta and has been vindicated over and over again in many a struggle for constitutional rights. To claim that in the twentieth century it requires again to be endorsed by the electors is a patent absurdity. Not only is the Women's Enfranchisement Bill based upon the fundamental principle of the British Constitution, but it is based also upon the chief doctrine of the Liberal party itself. The plea that a special mandate from the electors is required to enable Liberal statesmen to act upon their own principles by giving votes to women is one which we refuse to accept.

A Mistaken Idea.

One may point out in passing that the general acceptance of this theory of the mandate would involve the establishment of the referendum by a side wind. Those who want women to wait for enfranchisement until the electors have been consulted evidently entertain the mistaken idea that the women's right to the vote depends upon the consent of men. They might as well reverse the argument and say that men ought to have waited for

the consent of women before obtaining the vote. The success of the woman's cause cannot be allowed to depend upon the hazard of a General Election, and we are the less disposed to consent to the delay which such a course involves by the knowledge that, according to the very nature of things political, woman suffrage can never be voted upon by the electors at a General Election.

The reason for this is plain. It is that if the Unionist party, for example, were to declare for women's suffrage, the Liberal party could not afford to continue to oppose that reform. Obviously, therefore, if one of the two great political parties decides to refer this issue to the electors at the General Election, the other party will be obliged, in self-defence, also to take up the question. As a result the electors will have no opportunity of voting for or against woman suffrage, because whichever party they return to power will be pledged to extend the franchise to women.

Something should be said in reply to the statement so glibly made that the demand which comes from women themselves is not strong enough to compel action on the part of the Government. Party politicians are still trying to comfort their souls by this assertion, in the truth of which they themselves are rapidly losing belief. Speaking for the National Women's Social and Political Union, that organisation, though it is prepared to show numbers by organising great demonstrations, such as the one in the Albert Hall on the 19th of this month, and in Hyde Park in June, is more concerned to prove that it can exert enough political force to compel the Government to take speedy action. Political force depends, as everyone knows, less on numbers than on energy, enthusiasm, and good tactics. These three things and numbers to boot are at our command, and that is why we are entering with high hope upon the new stage in our conflict with the Government.

SUFFRAGETTE WAR-KITE.

How a Message was Sent to the House of Commons.

From the "Daily Mail," March 7.

The Suffragettes completely baffled the whole of the police force at Westminster yesterday, and succeeded in addressing both Houses of Parliament.

Shortly before the Commons met, at noon, two women arrived at Vine Wharf, at the foot of Lambeth Bridge, with three parcels, containing one mile of strong string, a blue and white war-kite, and a huge yellow flag, on which was printed in bold black letters, "Votes for Women, Albert Hall, March 19."

As Big Ben boomed the hour a mere man who had been impressed for the service, as Suffragettes cannot fly war-kites, ascended to a roof in the wharf, and sent the kite and flag on its journey towards the Victoria Tower, a quarter of a mile away.

First it sailed boldly over the ventilating shaft, then played in the wind in front of the terrace, next dominated Palace Yard and was finely manoeuvred to attract attention all round the Palace of Westminster.

It was not long before the police were on the alert and the inspector at Palace Yard in consultation as to how this "breach of privilege" should be dealt with. Crowds of Westminster School boys came to see the flag. Members of Parliament sallied out to the terrace to read it. Passers-by laughed, and the Suffragettes, a quarter of a mile away, smiled at their victory.

"We wanted to speak to the House quietly to-day," said one of them. "This is our latest way of doing so, and we shall tell Parliament frequently now of our views in this way, as it is such a success."

After three hours the police "had no orders." A wag in the crowd suggested the kite should be shot; another thought it ought to be "arrested." An officer made inquiries, but the string was not tracked to its lair, and finally the Suffragettes retired, having achieved their purpose.

On the following day the kite was flown with great success over the football field at Fulham.

LOCAL NOTES.

The Hammersmith W.S.P.U. is going on until Easter with weekly meetings on Wednesday evenings (8 p.m.), at No. 2, The Broadway. The speakers are in close touch with headquarters, and the meeting place very central for Hammersmith, and on the main road from Kensington to Kew.

Our principal effort of late has been the railway station collecting undertaken during the Self-denial week. We have to thank Miss Burke, the Misses Dugdale, Mrs. Hill, Miss Howett, Mrs. Lascelles, Miss Lawes, the Misses Levins, Miss McLellan, Miss Ockford, Miss B. A. Smith, Miss Thornhill, Mrs. Ward, and Miss Wolff van Sandau for taking turns with our own members at the stations, and helping us to send upwards of £15 to the treasurer of the N.W.S.P.U.

F. E. ROWE.

Leeds W.S.P.U.—We have now got somewhat settled after the turmoil of the by-election, and on Wednesday, March 4, we opened our new central room at 4, De Grey-street, bottom of Woodhouse-lane, to celebrate which we had an "At Home," also to welcome our released prisoners from Holloway. A good company was present, and after hearing speeches from our prisoners we were more convinced than ever of the necessity of women having a voice in the making of our laws. We were fortunate in having Miss Gawthorpe with us. Arrangements were made for welcoming Mrs. Pankhurst on the 31st inst. at the Albert Hall, Leeds, when we hope to have another great demonstration. New members are constantly being enrolled, and we are looking forward in the hope that we may get the vote this Session.

MRS. C. BELLINGHAM.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Tuesday, March 3, an "At Home" was held for members and friends of our Union at 7, Oakcroft-road. Flowers, jam, sweets, cakes, &c., given by friends, were sold for the benefit of the Union, and the sum of £4. 7s. 6d. collected from members was devoted to the same purpose.

R. M. BILLINGHURST.

News from Northampton.

On Wednesday Miss Lambert and I went to a bazaar for about an hour, and were introduced to several important people. Of course, we did a good deal of propaganda work, secured promises to attend the meeting, and so on. Yesterday we went to a very big "Drawing-room Concert" in the Town Hall, where we made acquaintance with a clergyman who is going to do anything in his power to help us. He is most anxious to see the work girls here organised. There has been a dispute between one of the biggest employers of labour here and another big employer, and it is the time for the Trade Unions to come along and demand better wages for the girls who have no Union. At this "concert" we got to know some of the prominent Liberals and the president of the co-operative society. The latter is going to try and get the society to arrange a meeting for us.

This place is eminently conventional, and church bazaars, sales of work in aid of various societies flourish, and we expect hard work in waking them up. Mrs. Branch, who is going to take the chair for Mrs. Pankhurst, has expressed her willingness to join a local union should one be formed here.

Yesterday morning we spent chalking for to-day's meeting. We go to a drawing-room meeting on Monday; on Tuesday to a meeting of the Women's Liberal Association, and on Wednesday we hold a meeting at Kettering.

MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

Work in Bradford.

Our work in Bradford is going splendidly. Opposition seems to bring us help and sympathy from every direction, and our meetings bring big crowds to hear us.

On Wednesday, March 11, I speak in Shipley with Mrs. Muir as my chairman. Miss Gawthorpe and members of the W.S.P.U. in Leeds and Bradford are debating at the Law Students' Society, Church Institute, Bradford, the same night.

On March 14, 18, and 19, we hope to have women's meetings in three wards of Bradford, Bradford Moor, West Bowling, and Little Horton.

On Thursday last I spoke at a drawing-room meeting given by Miss Addy, of Westbourne-road, Sheffield, and I shall be at Deepcar (near Sheffield) on March 16. The Bradford women are eagerly awaiting the release of the prisoners, to whom we intend to give a great welcome.

ADELA PANKHURST.

YORKSHIRE AND LANCASHIRE REPORT.

The Bradford protest meeting held in the St. George's Hall, on March 2, was a success in every way. The vast majority of the great audience were enthusiastically in sympathy with our cause, the only suggestion of opposition coming from a clique of young men, some of whom were ejected by men supporters Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines, and I spoke; the chair being taken, in the absence of Mrs. Martel, by Mr. Councillor Glyde, whose wife is one of our Holloway prisoners. The resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority, and after the meeting we had quite a busy time taking down names of women who wanted to be summoned to the next local Union meeting. Eighty names was the result, and it is expected that practically all will be added to our membership. Bradford is preparing a "welcome" in the same hall for Mrs. Pankhurst. Liverpool, too, is to prepare a big meeting, and at the last local meeting discussed ways and means. We have been very fortunate in getting an offer of a large chapel for the purpose, the minister making the offer being very much in sympathy. It is hoped Mrs. Pankhurst will be able to be present. Leeds has made quite a step forward, and on Wednesday last I was present at the opening of a central office at 4, De Grey-street, off Albion-street. The Leeds Union will now be able to hold regular "At Homes" on their own premises, in addition to ordinary and business meetings. There is sure to be much business transacted during the next few days, as arrangements are now in hand for March 31, when Mrs. Pankhurst will be the principal speaker at the Albert Hall. There is to be a meeting for "Women Only" in the afternoon at 3, and a public meeting in the evening at 8. We held a meeting in the Cheetham Town Hall, Manchester, on Thursday, which was largely attended. The resolution calling for facilities to carry Mr. Stanger's Bill through this Session was carried by an overwhelming majority, and a copy forwarded to the sitting member, Mr. Winston Churchill, and members of the Cabinet. The recent visit of Miss C. Pankhurst was still fresh in the people's minds, and they not only expressed sympathy, but offered to help to "keep the Liberal out" when the opportunity occurred.

From Manchester Miss A. Pankhurst and I went to give assistance to Mrs. Baines and Miss Brook at Southport, where Mr. Lloyd George was giving advice to the Educationalists, the Licensing Reformers, and the supporters of Welsh Disestablishment on how to achieve their aims. We were successful in getting quite a unique opportunity of asking for advice on "Votes for Women" by waiting for Mr. Lloyd George at his hotel and walking to the station with him. Mrs. Baines talked with Dr. Clifford, and I asked Mr. Lloyd George to tell us how to get votes if the ways we had adopted were not the right ones. He had no satisfactory solution of the difficulty to offer, nor did he reply to Mrs. Baines' question as to when the Liberal Government was going to do justice to women.

Local people say Southport has never been so roused over any question as on this burning topic of the day, and hence the meetings arranged by Mrs. Baines on the foreshore for Saturday and Sunday afternoons were attended by thousands of people. We were notified before the Sunday meeting that an organised gang of youths were to break up the meeting and "duck us in the Marine Lake." This did not deter us from conducting a most successful meeting, until a concerted rush almost caused a panic amongst the closely-packed thousands, and we were asked by the inspector of police, who had only three assistants, to close our meeting.

In the evening the Birtwhistle Rooms were crowded to their utmost capacity, and hundreds were unable to gain admittance. The proceedings were most enthusiastic, and Mrs. Baines took over 20 names of Southport ladies and gentlemen who want to help at a meeting it is proposed to arrange very shortly in the Cambridge Hall. Thus once more does unreasoning and cowardly opposition bring in its train that active support we are winning all along the line. We have many invitations to go to Southport again "very soon."

The Preston local branch are busy arranging a welcome for their prisoners on March 23, and on Saturday I had the pleasure of addressing a grand open-air demonstration in the Market Place, as a preliminary. The resolution was again carried by a large majority.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Scottish W.S.P.U. :—Offices, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

We are looking forward to the visit of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on April 1, 2, and 3, and to Miss Phillips' return. Meetings will be held in Aberdeen, April 1, in Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, April 3, and in the Athenæum, Glasgow, April 5. We have also arranged for two "At Homes" to be held in Edinburgh Café, on March 16, and 23.

Our Glasgow "At Homes" are going on excellently, and our members are evolving many brilliant schemes for aiding in the work. Many of them never send a letter without enclosing a leaflet, and they find it works splendidly and rouses interest, others send pamphlets, others the magazine to their friends, and every member is busy trying to get another member to join. Aberdeen Union had a very successful "At Home" on Tuesday evening, when Mrs. Webster was chairman, and Mrs. Inness, Rev. Mr. Webster, and others spoke. The result was 21 new members, more enthusiasm, and more workers.

On Thursday evening I spoke at St. Mary's Social Guild in Glasgow, and I was delightful to see how interested every one was. On Saturday I spoke at the annual meeting of Section 1, of the Co-operative Guild, the delegates representing over 3,000 women. There was a record attendance, and a good discussion. One of the delegates in the hall moved a resolution thanking us, and hoping we would continue our agitation more strongly than ever. The resolution was carried.

To-day I speak at Paisley Hippodrome, my address being entitled, "Rise Up, Women." I have also been invited by the Hamilton Parliamentary Association to come as a member of the House and move the Women's Suffrage Bill. The meeting will be held in the Masonic Hall, and tickets are to be sold to the public.

HELEN FRASER.

Protests at Lloyd George's Meeting.

A statement appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* of March 4, in reference to the refusal by the Free Trade Union to allow women to attend Mr. Lloyd George's meeting. Miss Ivy Pretious, the secretary, complained that two tickets had been specially asked for near the platform for a "deaf man," and that these tickets had found their way to the Women's Social and Political Union. She added—

I have to-day alone refunded the money, by cash and a cheque made payable to the W.S.P.U., for no fewer than 67 sofa stalls which I found on reference to my lists had originally been issued to various people all over England (some even to clergymen) who had applied for seats. Every sofa-stall which had been issued by the Free Trade Union for their meeting was counterfoiled with the name and address of the applicant and the number of the ticket—hence the reason of our being able to trace the whereabouts of our tickets, and to issue passes to the ladies who we thought had no wish to attend our meeting with the sole object of breaking it up. The 67 tickets referred to do not by any means comprise the actual number which have been returned by the Women's Social and Political Union, because when presented at the door of the Queen's Hall they were found to be useless.

I think some knowledge of the methods employed by the Women's Social and Political Union may be found interesting to your readers.

Miss Pankhurst replied :—"The statement of Miss Pretious amounts to this—that there are numbers of people in all parts of the country, including clergymen and other reputable people, who had purchased tickets for this meeting and handed them to us. That is perfectly true, and I think it is a significant sign of the wide-spreading character our militant propaganda is obtaining. It is a perfectly legitimate method on our part, and on the part of our friends, to obtain access to meetings.

"We, of course, think that the real cause of trouble is the refusal of the Government to give the vote to women, and until they do that the members of the Government will have to bar the doors of their meetings against women. We feel that when our interests are being discussed it is our duty to go and claim our political liberty. We feel that our line of action is one of the strongest means we possess to bring pressure to bear, and while it is Miss Pretious' duty to do her best to keep us out of the meetings, it is our duty to try and get in, and we are not ashamed of any means we have taken to do this. There are men, as well as women, who will take up a militant attitude in the future, so that the Government must exclude not only women but men if they are to hold any meetings.

"Our warfare is legitimate, and we give them fair warning we shall try to get into their meetings."

Dealing with the "deaf-man story," Miss Pankhurst said their association knew nothing about it, and it did not concern them.

ANOTHER BY-ELECTION.

Owing to the death of Mr. C. Goddard Clarke, Liberal M.P. for Peckham, a vacancy has occurred in that constituency, where the figures at the last election were :—

Charles G. Clarke (L.) 5,903
Sir F. G. Sanbury, Bt. (C.) 3,564

There will be no active work done in the constituency by any of the political parties until Friday, March 13.

In the meantime the N.W.S.P.U. are looking out for committee rooms, but up to the time of going to Press arrangements are not complete.

Any women who are able to assist should communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond at 4, Clements Inn, as it is especially desirable to have a large staff of workers speedily on the spot.

The Debate in Parliament.

Owing to the great interest in the debate on the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, which was described at length in the VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT of March 5, together with Miss Pankhurst's reply to the principal arguments used by opponents, that number is nearly sold out. A few are still left, however, which can be had at 1d. each. It is the intention subsequently to reproduce Miss Pankhurst's article and the account of the debate in the form of a pamphlet, which will be sold at 1d.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to the End of March (as far as at present arranged).

Mar. 12	Onslow Gardens, S.W., Mrs. Hylton Dale	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
	Putney, Cromwell Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Macaulay	8.15 p.m.
	West London Mission	Miss Isabel Seymour	8.30 p.m.
	Kilburn, St. Luke's, Men's Society	Miss H. Lightman	8.30 p.m.
	Wellingborough	Miss Sidley, Miss Lambert	8 p.m.
	London, 4, Clements Inn	"At Home"	8 p.m.
Mar. 13	Release of Miss Annie Kenney, and Mrs. Baldock	Holloway Prison	8.30 a.m.
	Eustace Miles Restaurant	Breakfast	9.15 a.m.
	Cobden Liberal Club	Miss Isabel Seymour	8.30 p.m.
	Northampton, Market Square	Miss Sidley, Miss Lambert	8 p.m.
	Leeds, Demonstration Committee	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	..
Mar. 14	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss H. Fraser	4-6
	Bradford Moor	Miss A. Pankhurst	..
Mar. 15	Heckmondwike Town Hall	Miss M. Gawthorpe	3 & 8 p.m.
Mar. 16	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	4-6
	Richmond, Masonic Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	..
	Bedford	Miss Sidley, Mrs. Jason Kerr, Miss Lambert	8 p.m.
	Lancaster, Collegiate Hall	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Café, Princess-street	Miss H. Fraser	..
	Deepcar	Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Mar. 17	Victoria Park, E., The Ladies' Guild, Old Ford	Mrs. Martel—Chair, Mrs. Cobden Unwin	..
Mar. 18	Chester, Hall	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
	Release of Prisoners, Holloway Prison	..	8.30 a.m.
	Eustace Miles Restaurant	Breakfast	9.15 a.m.
	Hammersmith, 2, The Broadway	Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Ryar-street	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss R. Newton	7.30 p.m.
	Northampton, Far Colton	Miss Sidley, Miss Lambert	8 p.m.
Mar. 19	London, Albert Hall, Women's Great Demonstration.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Baines, and others	8 p.m.
Mar. 20	Release of Mrs. Pankhurst and others, Holloway Prison	..	8.30 a.m.
	Great Central Hotel	Breakfast	9.15 a.m.
	London, Gray's Inn Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8.15 p.m.
Mar. 21	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss H. Fraser	..
	Southern, Mornington Church	Miss M. Gawthorpe	7 p.m.
Mar. 22	Chalk Farm P.S.A.	Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
Mar. 23	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	4-6
	Edinburgh, Café	Miss H. Fraser	..
	Preston Demonstration.	Miss M. Gawthorpe, Mrs. Rigby	..
Mar. 24	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 25	Victoria-street, W., Women's Institute, Reception	Miss Macaulay	4 p.m.
	Sheffield, Montgomery Hall, Public Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Mar. 26	London, Portman Rooms (Dorset-street entrance)	"At Home"	8 p.m.
Mar. 27	Worcester	Miss Keevil, Miss Barrett	..
Mar. 28	Hockton, Wakefield	Miss Gawthorpe	7 p.m.
	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss Helen Fraser	..
Mar. 29	Leeds, Belgrave Chapel	Miss M. Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
Mar. 30	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	4-6
	Hamilton, Parliamentary Debating Association	Miss H. Fraser	..
Mar. 31	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss Elizabeth Robins	8.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Albert Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe	3 & 8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

April 7	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss C. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
June 2	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3 p.m.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT.

No. XIX.

MARCH 19, 1908.

Price One Halfpenny.



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The Editors,

"Votes for Women,"

4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Offices—4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Secretaries Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke.

Hon. Treasurer Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Organising Secretary Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

Bankers Messrs. Barclay and Co., Fleet-street, E.C.

Events in the woman's movement follow thick upon one another. While we have our great Albert Hall meeting on March 19, which bids fair to be the largest demonstration of women ever made in favour of the franchise, and the release of Mrs. Pankhurst, the founder of the Union on the following morning, we are working hard at the by-election campaign in Peckham, where we hope to be successful in defeating the Liberal candidate, Mr. Gautrey, in spite of the large majority of 2,000 by which the seat was won by the Liberal at the last election.

Release of Mrs. Pankhurst.

Every member of the Union will wish to be at the gates of Holloway Prison on Friday, the 20th, at 8.30 a.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners will be released. It is expected that the procession conducting them to breakfast at the Wharnccliffe Rooms will be a record one. Those who cannot come in private motors, carriages, or cabs are invited to take tickets for the brakes that will be provided. The procession will be headed by a band, and many of our members are buying flowers, which will add to the brightness of the occasion. After the breakfast the flowers will be sent as a present to the Women's Hospital. Brake tickets, price 6d. each, and breakfast tickets, price 2s., may be obtained from the ticket secretary, 4, Clements Inn.

Many who are not free to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst on Friday morning will be glad to hear her on Monday afternoon; so many friends are expected at the weekly "At Home," that both the small and large halls at the Portman Rooms will be thrown open on that occasion,

March 23. Entrance can be made either from Baker Street or Dorset Street, and Mrs. Pankhurst will give a short speech in each room. An opportunity will be provided on the following day, for those who wish to hear her at greater length. She lectures on Tuesday evening, March 24, at 8.30, in the large Portman Rooms (Baker Street) on The Importance of the Vote; tickets, price 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s., are rapidly disappearing, and those who wish to secure seats should obtain them at once from the ticket secretary.

As we go to press the main body of the prisoners who were arrested in February are being released and entertained at breakfast in the Eustace Miles Restaurant. A large band of workers, who have had plenty of food for thought during the last six weeks, will therefore be free to join those who are already working against the Government in Peckham. Last Friday many sympathisers went to Holloway to greet Mrs. Baldock and Miss Annie Kenney, and to conduct them to a breakfast in the Eustace Miles Restaurant. "Suffragettes again!" said the driver of a van that was held up in Chandos Street by our procession. "Good luck to them, that's what I say!" responded another. Both of the late prisoners made effective speeches, showing how the repressive action of the Government in sending women to a prison full of examples of the results that follow from woman's voteless condition, only confirms our women in their determination to fight through to victory.

Lectures at the Portman Rooms.

Dr. Garrett Anderson gave a very interesting lecture last Tuesday evening on "The Woman's Vote and the Public Health," showing how the neglect of the woman's point of view in legislation affecting children, sanitation, housing, &c., must necessarily have a disastrous effect upon the race. Miss Christabel Pankhurst took the chair, and drew an able comparison between our struggle for the vote to-day and the women's struggle in the past for admission to "that eminently womanly profession," that of medicine.

The remainder of the course will be as follows:—Mrs. Pankhurst's lecture on March 24, on "The Importance of the Vote"; on March 31, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and on April 7, Miss Christabel Pankhurst on "Women and Practical Politics." All these lectures take place in the Portman Rooms (Baker Street) at 8.30 p.m., and tickets at 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. are on sale at 4, Clements Inn.

The principal items of interest during the week have been the by-election campaign in Peckham, which is described on another page; the various meetings which have been held in different parts of the country—some of them on a very large scale; and the publication of our second annual report, which shows a total sum raised during the year of over seven thousand pounds, and recounts the extraordinarily successful activities of the Union in different ways during the year. Among the special meetings which have been held during the week may be mentioned the meetings in Yorkshire and Lancashire, a large Town Hall meeting in Petersfield, the "At Home" on Monday afternoon in the Portman Rooms, and many drawing-room meetings in London and elsewhere. Special attention is drawn to the fact that the Thursday evening "At Home," which up till now has been held at the office, 4, Clements Inn, will in future be transferred to the Portman Rooms (Dorset Street). As there will, of course, be no "At Home" on March 19,

the first date for the new arrangement will be March 26. The "At Home" is from 8 to 10 p.m., and all those interested in the movement are welcome.

This supplement will be in the hands of our readers just before the women's great demonstration in the Albert Hall. We believe that that gathering will be historic in the annals of the suffrage agitation. As we go to press we learn that every 2s. 6d. and 1s. seat has been sold, and that only a very few 5s. stalls and boxes are left, as well as 6d. tickets for the gallery. There is every prospect, therefore, of a crowded hall. Mrs. Pankhurst's chair will remain vacant to mark our respect for our leader, who is still in prison; but the charge of the meeting will be in the hands of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and speeches of exceptional interest will be given. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will inform the audience of the result of self-denial week, and call upon those present to complete the £20,000 fund, started on May 31, last year.

POLITICAL NOTES.

The Peckham By-Election is the most important event of the moment. All the politicians regard this as a very critical contest. The members of the Union are doing their best to make it a Women's Suffrage Election, and secure the defeat of the Government. The people of Peckham have been brought clearly to understand that the influence of the Women's Suffrage movement is directed against the Government. The attitude of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Society tends to produce some confusion in the public mind, because that Society is taking great pains to explain that they are *not* working against the Government. Their reason for displaying this indulgence towards a Government avowedly reluctant to grant Women's Suffrage is certainly inexplicable, and does not argue either great determination or great political acumen on the part of those responsible for leading the Society in question. Not only has experience proved this colourless policy to be completely ineffective, but a slight knowledge of the conditions of political life is enough to show that unless strong pressure is brought to bear upon the Government the Franchise for Women will never be won. Fortunately, an active policy must always produce more effect than a passive one, and therefore our work is very little, if at all, hindered by the fact that another Society, having a less definite object in view, is in the field.

Official Liberalism, finding itself menaced by our agitation, is calling to its aid the Liberal women. To those to whom party interests are dearer than the freedom of their sex, this appeal is not made in vain, and some prominent Liberal women are to be found supporting the Government. Here, again, it is happily the case that the women who have the soundest policy exercise the strongest influence. The electors are far more influenced by the women who are working on independent lines for principle rather than party, and the Liberal women can do little to neutralise the effect of our campaign against the Government.

The two political parties are seeking to make the Licensing Bill the main issue in this contest, and we are charged by the supporters of Mr. Gautrey with injuring the prospects of Temperance Reform. Our reply to this is that the Government, by its refusal to concede our claim to vote, are, as a matter of fact, the real enemies of their own Licensing Bill, because, rather than carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, they prefer that the opposition of suffragists shall endanger the success of their Licensing measure. This appeal to women to waive their claim to the vote in order that other reforms may be effected has been made once too often. At the General Election women were called upon not to press the Govern-

ment pledge in regard to Women's Suffrage, because by so doing they would endanger the cause of Free Trade. The election over, suffragists were then told that to press for enfranchisement would mean injury to the Education Bill.

Now the cry is that the Licensing Bill will be placed in jeopardy if the enfranchisement of women is insisted upon; but we insist that the Government must find time to carry the Women's Suffrage Bill in addition to the Licensing Bill, and that if they fail to do it they must be prepared to be confronted by every obstacle which women who are determined to have political justice can place in their way. There is no hope for the women's cause unless its advocates can succeed in impeding the course of the Government in other directions, because it is only when the leaders of the Liberal party realise that further denial of women's suffrage will involve them in serious difficulty that they will abandon their present hostility to that reform.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

March 17, 1908.

WORK IN THE NORTH.

Preparations of welcome for Mrs. Pankhurst and other prisoners are the order of the day in many of the northern centres. The Peckham by-election, which prevents our making arrangements for meetings for Annie Kenney, will in the end afford opportunities for another series of meetings when Mrs. Pankhurst's tour is completed.

In Leeds a band of Suffragette scouts has been formed under a captain. The scouts will visit systematically all centres where large numbers of people are gathered together, either on special occasions, as at concerts and public meetings, or on regular nights, as at guild meetings, and give invitations to come to our "Welcome" meetings. They will offer to send local speakers for five or ten minutes at the end of business meetings, thereby getting experience for the regular open-air meetings they intend to conduct during the summer.

The debate with the Bradford Law Students' Society being "open," brought quite a large number of the general public, in addition to the members. Many promises were made to be present at the great meeting Adela Pankhurst is arranging for April 6. Several law students spoke valiantly in favour of Women's Suffrage, and gave quite a remarkable exposure of the legal inequalities women suffer from throughout all ranks of society.

Quite an exciting finish brought a full week to a close.

Mrs. Baines, who had been organising in Lancaster during the earlier part of the week, had also been making inquiries re a banquet of the Oldham Chamber of Commerce at which the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith was expected to be present. The date fixed was Friday, the 13th inst. Two days before the banquet Mrs. Baines had been successful in obtaining a number of ladies' tickets for the balcony. These were cancelled at the last moment, and it was given out no ladies were to be admitted at all; further, in view of Mr. Asquith speaking on the unemployment question in the afternoon in the House, the Liberal evening paper announced that, on information received per Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Asquith was not coming. We had, however, every reason to believe he *was*, and when just one ticket came into our possession only one hour before the Cabinet Minister's actual arrival, we determined to make at least one protest if possible. By booking a room in the Midland Hotel I was enabled to get comparatively easy access to the Banquet Hall, and to ask Mr. Asquith when the Government was going to give votes to women. Needless to say, I received the usual reply given to voteless, and therefore politically unimportant women—I was thrown out. Still, Mr. Asquith would be obliged to think about "Votes for Women" that day, at any rate.

From now up to the great meeting in Albert Hall important work will be done in Lancaster, Heckmondwike, and the Chester district. As in the older northern centres of activity we hope to get recruits from these newer places for the women's mass meeting in Hyde Park at midsummer. Already many promises have come in, and where ladies can afford, but cannot come, we are asking them to be responsible for the fare of some sympathiser who cannot afford the journey.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

THE BY-ELECTION AT PECKHAM.

CANDIDATES.

Liberal Mr. T. Gautrey.

Conservative Mr. A. C. Gooch.

Figures at the last election were:—Charles G. Clarke (L.), 5,903; Sir P. G. Banbury (C.), 3,594.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms:—135, Peckham-road.

MEETINGS.

Every afternoon: Women's Meeting in Public Hall at 3. (Men admitted on Thursday, March 19.)

Every evening: Open-air meetings—Rye lane, Nunhead Green, Gas Works, Commercial-road; Southampton-street.

On Saturday afternoon, March 21, the daily women's meeting will not be held.

There will be dinner hour meetings every day at various works.

Mass Meeting on Peckham Rye, Sunday, March 22,
3 p.m.

March 17, 1908.

The Peckham election campaign opened on Friday, the 13th, with a meeting at the Woods-road school, addressed by the released prisoners, and several open-air meetings. The slight excitement which usually marks the beginning of an election contest was noticeable, but, nevertheless, we felt convinced that this would be as successful as all our other recent election campaigns. On Saturday we found a great increase of sympathy and support on the part of our audiences. A dinner-hour meeting, an indoor meeting for teachers, and five or six open-air meetings drew large and friendly crowds. The Liberals present were evidently impressed with the reasonableness of our opposition to the Government.

The demonstration on Peckham Rye last Sunday was attended by an immense audience. Each of our speakers appeared on two platforms, and were treated with great courtesy by the responsible portion of the crowd. The action of a band of hooligans caused some disorder and much annoyance to those who had come to hear what we had to say. A letter from a Peckham resident who was at the meeting appears below. At the close of the meeting the speakers were surrounded by so large a crowd that it was with some difficulty they got away.

Contrary to the Press report, the speakers had no conversation with Mr. Gautrey, the Liberal candidate, on the Rye, but later in the afternoon he called at our committee room, in order to express his regret at the rough treatment which he understood we had received at the hands of some of the crowd. This gave us the opportunity of telling him that in our opinion the Government, in consequence of their refusal to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, must bear the responsibility for many unfortunate occurrences in connection with the large meetings which, in accordance with Mr. Herbert Gladstone's advice, are being held to demand Women's Suffrage. We counselled him to approach Mr. Asquith without delay, in order to ask him for a pledge that Government facilities should be given to Mr. Stanger's Bill. If this pledge were forthcoming, we explained, our opposition to Mr. Gautrey's candidature at Peckham would be immediately withdrawn.

On Monday, dinner-hour and evening meetings were resumed, and the first of the series of afternoon meetings for women in the Public Hall was held.

And now, at the end of the election, eight to ten open-air meetings will be held every day. We have arranged another big demonstration at Peckham Rye next Sunday, and there is every prospect that this will be an unqualified success. Much indignation has been roused by the disorderly behaviour on the part of some of last Sunday's audience, and probably we shall have no further trouble of this kind.

Polling day is on Tuesday next, and during the last few days of the contest no effort must be spared to keep the Liberal out. We have a party of canvassers at work, but more canvassers are needed, and we shall be glad if volunteers will call at the committee room at 135, Peckham-road. More speakers will be welcomed also, as the more meetings we can hold, the better. Mr. Leigh and others are busily engaged teaching

the children of the constituency a votes for women song. We find that to win over the children is an excellent way of enlisting the sympathy of the parents, and we shall be glad of help in this department of the work.

We propose to have a prisoners' procession through the constituency, and we shall be glad if our members will help us by organising this.

On polling day it will be necessary for the Union to be strongly represented at each polling station, in order that a final word may be spoken as each elector goes to record his vote. This is one of the most important contests that has taken place since the General Election, and if we can secure a Government defeat in Peckham we shall have very materially advanced our cause.

On Thursday and Friday several released prisoners will speak at the women's meetings each afternoon in the Public Hall. It is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst will attend the Friday meeting.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

A LETTER FROM PECKHAM.

The following letter, received by Mrs. Drummond on Monday morning, speaks for itself:—

DEAR MADAM,—I was present at your meeting this afternoon (Sunday) on Peckham Rye from 3 o'clock to 4.15. Everything seemed to go smoothly until 4.15, when you were left with one policeman to protect you, but soon after I was disgusted with the treatment you received at the hands of Mr. Gautrey's speakers and supporters in the van, which tried to force its way through your meeting. They had already succeeded with your first party. In my opinion they bore down on you like a pack of Zulus.

The scene my father witnessed later on was a disgrace to Englishmen. If it had not been for the pluck of the very few Peckham police in protecting three of your speakers from the crowd, they must have been crushed to death. The police had to lift them bodily over five fences, and had to be wonderfully quick about it. It was the most disgraceful scene he had ever witnessed in his life. I think Englishmen in England ought to give you a fairer chance of voicing your opinions. My father, being a Liberal, intended to vote for Gautrey, but unless he can advise his supporters better, he will decline to vote for him.

I heard your remarks as to the London police, and think from to-day you have still more cause to be proud of them.

Yours, &c.,

F. GRANDOLF.

SUFFRAGETTE WASPS.

The *Evening News* of March 14, contained a paragraph about our campaign under the heading "Terrors of the Suffragette Wasps," it ran as follows:—

For comedy relief, we are having a little play. It is entitled:—
"The Wasps and the Free Traders; a Stinging Argument."

The first performance was at Nunhead Green, and it is to be repeated nightly during the election.

Peckham critics say it is the funniest thing ever seen in the neighbourhood.

The Free Trade Union arranged a meeting on the Green. The Suffragettes went there, too, and, by providing a livelier entertainment, pirated the Free Trade orators' audience.

"Wasps!" exclaimed one Free Trader to me. "They're absolute wasps, that's what they are, those Suffragettes. They're following us about, and you can't dodge 'em anyhow!"

The Suffragettes reply, "They're Free Traders, aren't they? Well, why do they cry for Protection of their pitches?"

"We believe in unrestricted competition, too—Free Trade in speech-making."

"Nunhead Green is an open market, and we shall dump our platform there whenever we like. So there!"

Triumphal Procession

The second play to be produced by the Suffragettes, "Knocked 'em in the Old Kent-road, or the Holloway Martyrs' Parade," has now been fixed for next Friday.

It will be a Grand Triumphal Procession of wagonettes containing the Women's Social and Political Union's record assembly of ex-prisoners.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst and her comrades have astonished the voters with their sparkling speeches, and masculine hecklers who went out expecting to crush the women with their sudden flashes of wit were hopelessly outflashed.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Scottish W.S.P.U.—Offices, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

We have been busy making preparations for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. We have booked the Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, for Friday, April 3. To aid in the working up of this meeting, we have arranged two "At Homes" in Edinburgh Café on March 16, and 23, at 3.30 p.m. Our Glasgow "At Homes" are proving as attractive as ever, and we are going to have Dr. Ara Murchison speaking on March 28. New members are constantly coming in, new helpers aiding us, and new schemes being evolved.

The Paisley meeting, in the Hippodrome, on March 8, was attended by over 1,200 people, and crowds were turned away. Mrs. Pearce presided, and I had an interested and appreciative audience. The heckling was much enjoyed.

HELEN FRASER.

LOCAL NOTES.

The Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—The proceedings of our Union were enlivened at the weekly meeting on Friday by the presence of Miss Amelia Kerh, who gave our members a graphic account of her imprisonment in Holloway. Our members were specially impressed by Miss Kern's description of how completely a prisoner is cut off from all human intercourse.

A resolution: "Protesting against the refusal of the Government to enfranchise duly qualified women, thus forcing them into conflict with the law, and consequent suffering and imprisonment," was passed unanimously. We decided to send the resolution on to the Government.

One of our members and myself have received a characteristic letter from the junior member for Brighton, Mr. Ridsdale, M.P., protesting against being "inundated" with letters, *re* giving facilities for the passing by Government of Mr. Stanger's Bill. The temper of the ordinary M.P. is evidently easily ruffled.

The Union is sending up a record number of members to the Albert Hall meeting on March 19. A twopenny tea is being arranged for March 27, to reach the working-women of Brighton. A friend of the cause is paying for the hall, and another friend is defraying the cost of advertising.

ISABELLA G. MCKEOWN.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—Once again the Kensington Committee has much reason to thank the members and friends who rallied to its support during Self-denial Week. A large proportion of the "self-denial envelopes" sent out returned to the treasurer containing money raised in various ways. One member generously sacrificed two engravings which she had previously refused to part with, even for the honour of having them placed in the British Museum, and gave her money to us. Others sold jewellery, silver, or other articles, and gave the proceeds. Marmalade, sweets, &c., were made and sold, and many housekeeping economies practised for the good of the cause. Some Kensington authors gave autographed volumes of their works to be sold at the Portman Rooms, and another member contributed some very beautiful enamels for the same purpose.

We did not succeed in obtaining permission to speak at the local theatres, but the proposed concert arranged by one of our members is to take place on March 26, and promises to be very successful. The proceeds of a whistle drive got up by one of our members have also been sent to Clements Inn.

The street collections showed from what an immense variety of sources comes sympathy with us. Men and women, rich and poor, young and old, dropped in their contributions, mingling humour and pathos. One very poor woman put a penny in one box, walked a few yards, then seeming as though she could not pass the second without giving, came back and left another there. A daintily-dressed lady, catching sight of the words "Votes for Women" accosted one of our collectors with a smiling "Oh, it's you! I went to the 'Women's Parliament,' it was the first meeting I had ever been to, and I have done nothing ever since but call on and write to all my friends to tell them how charming Suffragettes really are." Rough working men dropped in a few coppers as they passed. One little maiden of about five summers brought her penny, saying, "Mummie says I shall have a vote when I grow up 'cos of you." On her return from her walk in Kensington Gardens, she gravely dropped in four farthings. "These are from Lucinda." Lucinda was her doll.

Exclusive of collecting cards which were sent direct to headquarters, the sum raised through self-denial envelopes amounted to £22 5s., and by street collections £33 15s., making a total of £56.

GERTRUDE M. CONOLAN.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—We are doing our best to push our cause in Leicester. We are holding weekly meetings, distributing literature, and wearing our Votes for Women buttons in season and out of season.

We are holding a meeting on Monday evening to make arrangements for beginning open-air meetings at once, and hope to have an organiser down here to help us rouse Leicester.

A great demonstration was held here Sunday, March 8, arranged by

a committee of women from all women societies in Leicester. Three of our members were asked to serve on it, and we were instrumental in getting Mr. Victor Grayson and others to voice our cause. It was a huge success, and we are hoping to have another meeting on the same lines, with, if possible, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mr. R. H. Hardie to speak for us.

MRS. HAWKINS.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We are unable to arrange a members' meeting this week, as we should like to have done, to welcome Mrs. Bouvier and Mrs. Aldham on their release from prison; but we feel that all our time and energy should be devoted to Peckham. All Lewisham members not yet helping are asked to come forward at once and help at this by-election.

After an hour or so in canvassing in a street it is most gratifying to walk past the houses one has visited and see that the Liberal candidate's name has been removed from the windows and the "Votes for Women" leaflet put in its place.

R. M. BILLINGHURST.

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

At the Accrington discussion class, Sunday, March 8, we had a very full room and an enthusiastic audience. The local papers published two columns and a leader on "Votes for Women."

At a members' meeting on Monday in Bradford fourteen new members signed the membership pledge, and there is every prospect of their becoming valuable workers for the cause.

I spoke at a meeting in the People's Hall, Shipley, on Wednesday last, and in spite of the presence of a number of boys it was a splendid gathering. Mrs. Muir made an able chairman, and Miss R. Newton gave a good speech from the point of view of a teacher.

Applications from Shipley for the Bradford meeting on April 6, to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst, have come in rapidly, showing how much good work has been done.

We were very glad to welcome Mrs. Glyde from Holloway. It is to be hoped that the Bradford prisoners will make their maiden speeches on April 6.

On Saturday last, March 14, a women's meeting was held in Hanson Council School, Bradford Moor, with Miss Hartland in the chair. There were about sixty ladies present. On Wednesday next there is a women's meeting in Ryan-street Council School at West Bowling, Bradford.

ADELA PANKHURST.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to the End of March (as far as at present arranged).

Mar. 19	London, Albert Hall, Woman's Great Demonstration.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Baines, and others	8 p.m.
	Devonport, Dock Gates	Miss N. Kenney	Dinner Hour 8 p.m. 8.30 a.m.
Mar. 20	Northampton, Market Square	Miss Sidley	9.15 a.m. 8.15 p.m.
	Release of Mrs. Pankhurst and others, Holloway Prison		
	Great Central Hotel	Breakfast	
	London, Gray's Inn Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
	Leeds, Demonstration Meeting	Miss M. Gawthorpe	
	Plymouth, Market Place	Miss N. Kenney	8 p.m.
Mar. 21	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss H. Fraser	
	Southport, Mornington Church Society	Miss M. Gawthorpe	7 p.m.
Mar. 22	Chalk Farm P.S.A.	Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
	Plymouth, Unitarian Chapel	Miss N. Kenney	3 p.m.
	Southport, Foreshore	Miss M. Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
	Plymouth, S.D.F., Forester's Hall	Miss N. Kenney	7 p.m.
Mar. 23	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	4-6
	Edinburgh, Café	Miss H. Fraser	
Mar. 24	Preston Demonstration.	Miss M. Gawthorpe, Mrs. Rigby	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Demonstration Meeting	Miss M. Gawthorpe	
Mar. 25	Victoria-street, W., Women's Institute, Reception	Miss Macaulay	4 p.m.
	Sheffield, Reception, Cutler's Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe	4-6
	Kettering, Market Hill	Miss Sidley	7.30 p.m.
	New Broad-street, Patriotic Club	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	
	Hammersmith, 2, The Broadway	Miss Lambert	8 p.m.
	Sheffield, Montgomery Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Mar. 26	London, Portman Rooms (Dorset-street entrance)	"At Home"	8 p.m.
	St. Leonards-on-Sea, Royal Concert Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massey	3 & 8 p.m.
Mar. 27	Stockbridge, National School	Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
	London, Lady Kynett's Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
	Bradford, Heaton, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst	7 p.m.
Mar. 28	Worcester	Miss Koevil, Miss Barrett	
	Hockton, Wakefield	Miss Gawthorpe	7 p.m.
	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss Helen Fraser	
Mar. 29	Leeds, Belgrave Chapel	Miss M. Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
Mar. 30	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	4-6
	Hamilton, Parliamentary Debating Association	Miss H. Fraser	
Mar. 31	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss Elizabeth Robins	8.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Albert Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, & 3 p.m.	

Important Future Events.

April 7	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss C. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
June 21	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	10 a.m.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT.

No. XX.

MARCH 26, 1908.

Price One Halfpenny.



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The Editors,

"Votes for Women,"

4, Clements Inn, W.C.

An important announcement will be made next week in the April number concerning the development of this paper.

THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Offices—4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Secretaries Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke.

Hon. Treasurer Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Organising Secretary Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

Bankers Messrs. Barclay and Co., Fleet-street, E.C.

The most important event of the past week has been the great Mass Meeting of women in the Albert Hall, which will always be remembered as an historical occasion in the Suffrage movement. It was, firstly, the largest gathering of women inside a hall which has ever taken place, and, secondly, the great enthusiasm shown was unparalleled. Over 7,000 people were present, both sitting and standing, and a great number were turned from the doors. At the same time, a fund of £7,000 was raised with which to prosecute our campaign in the future. Mrs. Pankhurst's dramatic appearance on the Albert Hall platform, before an audience prepared to see her chair remain empty the whole evening, occasioned an outburst of enthusiasm that can never have been equalled in the annals of the woman's movement, and we seemed to hear in it the death-knell of the Government that had unjustly imprisoned her.

We have been frequently asked to produce numbers to show that there are a great many women who are demanding the vote. Here, at any rate, is a clear and emphatic answer to this question. But we do not intend to stop here; we are organising an enormous outdoor gathering on June 21, Midsummer Day, in Hyde Park, and we intend to have there not 10,000, but over 100,000 women present to claim their enfranchisement. It will be remembered that on the famous occasion in Hyde Park, when the men pulled down the railings, 67,000 men

demonstrated. Though Mr. Gladstone said that he did not expect women to show as large numbers as men have shown, we are confident of being able to double this figure.

Militant Action.

At the same time, the Women's Social and Political Union has no intention of being side-tracked from its militant action against the Government by organising these large movements. During the whole week the Peckham By-Election has been proceeding vigorously. Even on the night of the Albert Hall meeting itself a large number of our women were working in the constituency, and the magnificent result, announced in another part of the paper, shows the value of the work we have been doing. Some of our members, too, have been present at meetings held by Cabinet Ministers. At Motherwell Mr. Haldane was asked questions in the course of his speech, and the usual treatment was meted out to the questioners. On Monday, March 23, Mr. John Burns was making a speech on infantile mortality. In the course of his speech he dealt with the responsibility of mothers for the care of the children of the nation, and he was asked how far he was prepared to give that responsibility effective voice by conferring the vote upon the womanhood of the country. The question was left unanswered, but the questioners were removed by the stewards. Mr. Burns spoke in none too choice words of women "subletting their maternity." Our answer to Mr. Burns is that women have no intention of subletting their responsibility for the government of the country by allowing men to be the sole electors of the representatives of the nation.

The Released Prisoners.

Among the other features of the week have been the two breakfasts given in honour of the released prisoners. The first on March 18, when the bulk of those arrested in connection with the Women's Parliament were released, was held in the Eustace Miles Restaurant. A large number of women came to welcome the prisoners at Holloway, and conducted them to the restaurant, where a successful breakfast took place, with speeches afterwards, and subsequently a demonstration at Peckham.

On March 20, a breakfast was given in the Wharncliffe Rooms, Marylebone, which were completely filled by the women who wished to show their respect and enthusiasm. An account of the speeches at this breakfast will be given in next week's issue. After the breakfast all the released prisoners and eleven brake loads of women proceeded to Peckham, and headed by a band made a tour through the constituency, evoking considerable interest and enthusiasm.

On Monday, March 23, the large and the small Portman Rooms were both open for the usual weekly "At Home," and a great crowd of women listened to Mrs. Pankhurst in both rooms. On the following day Mrs. Pankhurst delivered a lecture on the importance of the vote, which roused many of her listeners to a new enthusiasm for the cause. It is proposed to reprint this in pamphlet form, and we expect it will be ready in about a week's time.

During the week that follows we shall be busy working the election in Kincardineshire, where a vacancy has been created by the death of Mr. John William Crombie. There is also to be a lecture by Mrs. Elizabeth Robins in the Portman Rooms, on March 30, at 8.30. Tickets, price

5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s., can be obtained of the ticket secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The last lecture of the course will be delivered by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on April 7, on "Women and Practical Politics." Friends of the movement are specially invited to bring outsiders to these lectures in order that they may learn from them the true work that the women are doing.

POLITICAL NOTES.

It is evident the Liberal party now recognises our Union to be a menace to their success at the poll. In various ways they are trying to counteract our work in opposition to the Government at by-elections. On the eve of the poll at Peckham the *Star* newspaper issued an appeal to women to use their influence on behalf of the Government nominee. It was argued that the Licensing Bill was the chief issue before the constituency, and that it was the duty of the women to persuade the men to vote for the Government in order that the passage of the Licensing Bill might be assisted. The women of Peckham, it was said, ought to remember that they had a chance of turning the tide of votes against brewers and publicans, for if they would come to the help of the "temperance candidate" he would win.

Here is surely a striking admission of the political influence which women, whilst still voteless, have gained as the result of a campaign against the Government conducted on lines independent of party. Until the N.W.S.P.U. took the field at by-elections, women's opinions were ignored, and never did any party organ, on the eve of the poll, address its final word of counsel and exhortation to women rather than to men. It should be plain that the weapon of the vote wielded with skill will give to women an important share in controlling the nation's affairs. The appeal in question gives strong justification to our claim that, in spite of the efforts of the Press and politicians, we have succeeded in making the contest at Peckham a Woman Suffrage election.

Desperate appeals have been made to us by adherents of the Liberal party that we should, for the moment, at any rate, set aside our own cause in order that the Licensing Bill might come to no harm. Naturally, we have unhesitatingly refused to subordinate the interest of our cause to that of the Licensing Bill or any other measure.

Since first the vote was claimed by women, party politicians have argued that some other reform must take precedence of this one, and far too often already have women Suffragists been turned from their course by these arguments. The members of the Union stand firm in their refusal to relinquish on any pretext whatever their opposition to the Government. If the result of our opposition to the Government is to destroy the prospects of the Licensing or any other Bill upon their programme, the blame will rest upon the shoulders of the Government themselves. If the Liberal leaders prefer the sacrifice of their various schemes to the enfranchisement of women, that is not our fault, but their own. It is our duty to compel them to make a choice between carrying both the Woman Suffrage Bill and the Licensing Bill or neither.

It is difficult to believe that their hostility to woman's enfranchisement is so strong as to prompt them to prefer discredit in the country to granting votes to women. The N.W.S.P.U. aims deliberately at making the return of any Government nominee at the by-elections an impossibility, and, indeed, we are almost in a position to claim that that end is already attained. It is idle for the apologists of the Government to make appeals to our sentiment and to our desire for reform. To such appeals

we are adamant, for we know they are made with the unworthy object of weakening and side-tracking our movement. Not until they have the vote can women compel social reform or dictate the lines on which it is to proceed.

The very Licensing Bill, on account of which we are urged to stay our hand, seems to many of us an attempt to deal with effects rather than causes. We are anxious to try to attack the evils which lie at the root of intemperance, and this being so, the Liberal party will plead with us in vain to sell our claim to the vote for any minor measure. The right to vote is the very foundation of all constructed reforms, and it is because we know this that the rank and file of the Liberal party will do well to cease from appealing to us for mercy and to compel their leaders, by voting against them at the by-elections, to forthwith carry into law the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WORK IN THE NORTH.

Most successful public meetings have been held this week in Heckmondwike, Lancaster and Chester.

In Heckmondwike both the afternoon and evening meetings were largely attended, the Co-operative Hall being crowded in the evening to its utmost capacity. As this was entirely new ground the result was more than satisfactory; and at the close of the meeting quite forty names of women sympathisers were taken.

As Heckmondwike is near to Bradford, Adela Pankhurst intends "working up" these forty names, so that from being sympathisers they may be turned into active workers by the time they have attended the great Bradford meeting and heard Mrs. Pankhurst.

From here, after helping forward arrangements in connection with the Leeds demonstrations, I went on to Lancaster where Mrs. Baines, with the welcome assistance of real men democrats in the old Roman city, had arranged one of the most successful "first" meetings I have ever attended. An hour before the time for commencing the Collegian Rooms were half full, and there wasn't even standing room a quarter of an hour from that time. Hundreds stood in the street outside, and as we could not manage an overflow, there being only two speakers, it will serve as an extra inducement for the disappointed ones to procure tickets at an early date for the great demonstration which is to follow in the Hippodrome on April 5th, and at which Mrs. Pankhurst will be principal speaker. Mrs. Baines hopes to get into closer touch next week with the thirty-eight women who gave in their names by arranging a women's meeting to explain terms of membership, and if possible to form a provisional committee to assist in getting up the Hippodrome meeting.

The postponed Chester meeting was ably worked up by Miss Brook, and Cestrians have since expressed their amazement that such an ancient and sedate cathedral city as Chester should have shown such interest in "Votes for Women." The Temperance Hall was quite full, and, as at Lancaster, it was significant that amongst the audience we had the leading Liberal women of the district. Just a few short months ago this would not have been possible; but now that Suffragette pressure at the by-elections is becoming such an acknowledged factor in the lowered prestige of the Government, these ladies have concluded that there must be some "method in our madness," and wisely enough they come to see for themselves what it all means. The local Women's Liberal Association held a public meeting the same week as ours; the attitude of the lady who puts her party before her principles was well summed up in the remark of one of the women Liberals to one of our supporters: "Of course, I believe in women's suffrage," she said, "but at the right time." Soon we shall get the party lady to see that the "right time" is now; then the battle will be won.

Thirty names was the harvest in Chester, and we hope it will be possible to take the Music Hall soon for a larger meeting still with Mrs. or Miss Pankhurst as principal speaker. Southport, too, is clamouring for a big meeting, and requests for visits keep rolling in. If only the Cabinet ministers would take a week's tour with us we would show them whether the country was "ripe" or not. The great Albert Hall meeting will enable those of us who were present to go to the women of the North with even more confidence than before, and we mean to bring them up in their hundreds and thousands on June 21st.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

PECKHAM.

Mr. A. C. Gooch (Conservative) ..	6,970
Mr. T. Gautrey (Liberal) ..	4,476
Majority ..	2,494

Figures at the last election were:—Charles G. Clarke (L.), 5,903; Sir F. G. Banbury (C.), 3,564.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms:—135, Peckham-road.

A crushing and unprecedented blow has been delivered to the Government in Peckham, where a Liberal majority of 2,339 has been converted into a Conservative majority of 2,494, a change of nearly 5,000 votes. The men and women of Peckham have stood by us in our determination that no Liberal shall be returned so long as the Government is false to its principles.

No meetings have been better attended than our own, and audiences have grown more sympathetic day by day.

The gas workers' vote was an important factor in the political situation, and we have held dinner-hour meetings for their benefit every day. Four or five large meetings were definitely arranged for every night, and as many more were held as the number of speakers available permitted.

The general approval of the principle of Women's Suffrage has been quite remarkable, and the only serious opposition has come from Liberals, who resent our attack upon the Government. We have had little difficulty, however, in showing them that our policy, however unpalatable, is quite justified by the Government's hostility to our cause. The argument that women do not want the vote has had its reply, as far as Peckham is concerned, in the great success of the women's meetings held each afternoon in the Peckham Public Hall. The hall has been overcrowded, and numbers of women have been unable to gain admission at all.

Of great effect in rousing the constituency were the visits of the released prisoners. On Wednesday and Friday they drove round Peckham, addressing meetings at various points in their progress.

On Thursday night, in consequence of the Albert Hall meeting, some of the workers had to be withdrawn, but thanks are due to those who stuck to their posts in Peckham in spite of their wish to be present at the great meeting in the Albert Hall.

The Saturday night meetings in Peckham were among the most successful we have held. The absence of disorder and drunkenness was very striking. On Sunday afternoon, in spite of bad weather, large crowds gathered round our three platforms and stood for two hours in the rain.

On Monday some of the released prisoners again drove through the streets, and the last women's meeting, which was both crowded and enthusiastic, was held. In the evening we made our final appeal to the electors, the various speakers driving from one meeting to another. On the day of the poll, members of the Union stood at each polling-station, urging the electors to vote against the Government. They were reinforced by large numbers of local women determined to take their share in the victory.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

PRESS ACCOUNTS.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE," MARCH 19.

Everybody seems agreed that the best speeches are being made by the Lady Suffragists. Both of the candidates have promised to support the Vote for Women; but most of the fair orators are urging the electorate to vote against Mr. Gautrey and, through him, against the present Government. Within three hours I heard seven of these speakers, and an equal number of men; and the speeches of the women were far more acutely reasoned, more happily expressed, and distinguished by a better grasp and closer knowledge of the questions of the day than those of the men. Whatever may be one's own views on the question of Women's Suffrage, no fair man can deny the remarkable ability with which it is being presented by the women in Peckham.

"WESTMINSTER GAZETTE," MARCH 20.

After their tour of the constituency, the militant Suffragists held a remarkable demonstration this afternoon at the Peckham Hall, the largest in the district. A huge crowd, principally of women, assembled to greet Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners. The crush was so great that an overflow meeting had to be arranged, while even then scores were turned away from the doors, and an open-air meeting was held close by.

THE "PECKHAM POST," MARCH 21.

The local Liberal paper, "The Dulwich, Peckham and Camberwell Post," has had several appreciative notices of the women's activities. In its issue of March 21st, it refers to the meetings held by Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Drummond and others, and describes the speakers as able and eloquent and their arguments as strong. It presses forward their claim as follows:—

"Four hundred and twenty Members of the House of Commons are in favour of 'votes for women,' and the Bill passed its second reading in the House of Commons the other day by an immense majority. The grievance of the women is that the Government deliberately shelved that Bill instead of passing it into law. Let the Government take down the Bill from the shelf, and the Suffragettes will at once retire from Peckham."

Most of the London daily papers state that these ladies did not get a hearing in Peckham; this is not true. Wherever they go they are listened to with attention. We think it a great pity and a great mistake for the Government not to give them their votes. If they don't do it, the Tories will.

Messrs. Gautrey and Gooch are both in favour of "votes for women." The House of Lords will pass the Bill to please the Tories, but they will throw it out if brought in by the Liberals. Why on earth does not the Liberal Government use this magnificent opportunity for turning the Suffragettes on to the House of Lords?

There are three other societies in favour of "votes for women" all blazing away together now in Peckham, but the Suffragettes are stronger than all the others put together. All the others are merely opportunists. The Suffragettes are the only force that counts.

"DAILY MAIL," MARCH 23.

Heavy rain interfered with the demonstrations on the Rye yesterday. The crowds there in the afternoon were quite small, but the Suffragettes were undaunted by the wet and had three platforms going. In no contest have the Suffragettes figured so largely or done such harm to the Radical candidate. They have had meetings every afternoon in the Public Hall as well as at night in the open. At the Public Hall meetings women have crowded to listen to the speeches, and the movement has received a great number of recruits. They had a great demonstration on Saturday, driving through a large part of the constituency, and were everywhere well received.

THE "STANDARD," MARCH 24.

But there is one committee room where there is no fun at all—the ladies' headquarters. They mean business, and do it. For three hours on Sunday thousands of men and women listened in the wind and cold rain to the women. Stop any man in the street—except, perhaps, a Liberal—and ask him what he thinks of it. Sometimes he will stop you. These women are prepared to kill themselves with fatigue and exposure—not for the vote, but for what the vote means.

Out in the soft spring darkness, lit with wavering fires, wagons are wedged among the dense crowd, scarce twenty feet apart. Here is the women's suffrage van, a slight figure speaking to an audience that never interrupts.

KINCARDINESHIRE.

Liberal
Conservative	Mr. Sydney J. Gammell.

The figures at the last election were as follows: John W. Crombie (L.), 3,877; S. J. Gammell (C.), 1,524.

Another by-election now awaits us—a vacancy having occurred in the constituency of Kincardineshire. The Liberal majority in 1906 was 2,353, so that a stern fight is in prospect. At the earliest possible moment representatives of the Union will be at work in the constituency. The Government probably wish to make the House of Lords' question the main issue in this contest, and, in order to secure the support of the electors, intend to raise the cry that the House of Lords must be reformed, so that the will of the people may prevail. We shall make it our business to point out that the most urgent way of vindicating this principle is to make the will of the people prevail in the House of Commons by granting the franchise to qualified women, and we shall not forget to express our opinion that the Government are very half-hearted in their crusade against the House of Lords, and that their attitude in this matter is dictated chiefly by a desire to make party capital.

LOCAL NOTES.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—On Saturday evening, March 21, the Chelsea Union gave a dinner to celebrate the release of prisoners from Holloway belonging to Chelsea. Thirty-two members attended, and after dinner the health of the guests was proposed by Miss M. M. Sheppard, and the four prisoners, Miss Haig, Miss Naylor, Miss Joachim, and Miss Mayo, gave an account of their prison experiences. A most interesting evening was closed by an impressive address by Mrs. Mary Layton, F.C.O., who had been present on the memorable occasion of Miss Annie Kenney's appearance at the Albert Hall two years ago, and gave a most vivid account of it.

The Birmingham W.S.P.U., formed in May last, continues to make headway. From this date to February last two of the national organisers (Mrs. Baines and Miss Nellie Kenney) have in turn worked the city and suburbs, and much has been done in arousing local sympathy and interest in the agitation for the enfranchisement of women. As a grand *finale* to a series of addresses, debates, meetings, "At Homes," &c., the important public meeting held in the Town Hall on the last day of January was an unqualified success.

On February 10, the day our six delegates travelled to London in order to attend the Women's Parliament, Miss Nellie Kenney left the district. All our delegates were arrested on the 11th, and ultimately sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment. On Wednesday, March 25, we are holding a reception at the St. Jude's Schools, to welcome them all on the return of the two ladies, Miss Laura Hemming and Miss Ida Cunard, who have completed the sentence.

It has been decided to hold fortnightly meetings of members, and arrangements are being made to render these of an interesting and educational character. Our members are delighted with the success of the Royal Albert Hall meeting, and are looking forward to a graphic account of it in the April VOTES FOR WOMEN.

ELIZABETH REDFERN.

Northampton Report.—Work has been going on steadily here. The most interesting event of the week was a Mock Parliament, held on Friday, in the schoolroom of the Kettering-road Unitarian Church, at which Mrs. Branch introduced and I supported a measure to the effect that it is necessary that the Parliamentary franchise be immediately extended to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. Discussion lasted nearly two hours, and the methods of the W.S.P.U. received a good share of attention. However, after a rather severe criticism, I was permitted to reply, for, as it was a woman's suffrage measure, I had not dealt with tactics in my supporting remarks. I had the satisfaction of hearing two of the men supporters of the Bill say that they had that night been converted to the methods, and others said they could not approve of the tactics, but since they now realised that women had adopted them believing in all sincerity that these methods were best calculated to secure the enfranchisement of women, they could no longer condemn them. It was proposed and carried that there be two divisions—a general division and a women's division. At the general division voting was:—For the motion, 14; against, 13; majority in favour, 1. The division in which women only voted was most interesting, showing that it was the men's vote that nearly defeated the measure in the first division:—For the motion, 10; against, 4; majority in favour, 6.

People here are still nervous when they see a suffragette. They are still afraid that whenever we appear on the scene it is for the purpose of making a disturbance. Miss Lambert and I went to a drawing-room concert the week before last. We have since learned that the ladies who sold us our tickets did not notice our "Votes for Women" buttons until the tickets were safely in our possession; then an alarm was raised that we were to attend the concert, and might possibly interfere with the speeches. So little do they understand our tactics! It is almost like running one's head against a brick wall; but we hope to keep our heads intact, yet make a hole in the wall.

MARGUERITE SIDLEY.

Work in Mid-Devon.—Immediately on arrival, Miss Dorothy Pethick and I were greeted with every assurance of success at Teignmouth. It was here Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Martel took refuge after the attack by the mob at Newton. The sympathy aroused as a result has left a deep mark on the inhabitants, and paves the way most encouragingly for further presentment of the cause.

We have already spoken at a Drawing-room meeting, at which there was an attendance of 40 influential guests. There were several questions as a result of the speeches, and, at a request for a show of hands, 17 were raised in favour of the enfranchisement of women and 5 against.

We are promised another Drawing-room meeting on the 24th inst. by Mrs. Pottinger, whose daughters are helping us at the public meeting to be held at the Assembly Rooms on April 3, when we hope Miss Annie Kenney will be our chief speaker.

We have been working up neighbouring places, such as Dawlish and Paignton. An open-air meeting at the former was very sympathetic. Newton Abbot will follow later.

NELLIE CROCKER.

THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.

The women's great demonstration held in the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, March 19, is by far the largest indoor meeting that has been held in the history of the women's movement. It is the largest indoor meeting that has ever taken place in support of any extension of the franchise in this country, and it will certainly rank as one of the most wonderful meetings that have ever been held in the Albert Hall. The vast audience was composed almost entirely of women, and at the opening of the meeting Miss Christabel Pankhurst was able to announce that all the standing room in the gallery and every seat, with the exception of those in a few of the private boxes, whose owners had not given permission for them to be occupied, had been sold. Many people who had not already secured tickets were turned away at the doors.

The platform was crowded with ex-prisoners and officials of the W.S.P.U., but the chairman's seat was vacant, and in it was placed a card bearing the inscription, "Mrs. Pankhurst's chair."

As the speakers came on to the platform, they were greeted by a thunder of applause. When Miss Christabel Pankhurst, after making a few preliminary announcements, told the audience that, for some reason, "not unconnected with Peckham," the Government had decided to release unexpectedly Mrs. Pankhurst and those who had been imprisoned with her, the enthusiasm was tremendous, and became almost overwhelming when it was known that Mrs. Pankhurst would be able to be present, and to take the chair at the meeting that night. Then, whilst the demonstration was at its height, Mrs. Pankhurst came quietly forward on to the platform, and as soon as order was restored, began to address the assembled women. She was evidently deeply moved by the warmth of her reception, and as she told how the chief wardress had come to her cell at two o'clock that afternoon to tell her that an order had come for her immediate release, one felt that she was very tired, and almost overwhelmed by the sharp contrast between that great brightly lighted hall, with its vast seething throng of human beings, and the stillness and silence of the prison cell.

The speeches drew a ready response from the audience, and on the Treasurer appealing for funds to complete the Self-Denial amount, a total of no less than £7,000 in all was forthcoming.

The following resolution was put to the meeting:—

This meeting of women assembled in the Royal Albert Hall demands that constitutional rights be granted to women, and calls upon the Government to adopt and carry into law the Women's Enfranchisement Bill now before Parliament.

A vast sea of hands went up in favour, and against, one solitary hand. The resolution was accordingly declared carried.

A full account of the meeting will be given in the April monthly number, published next week.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to the End of March (as far as at present arranged).

Mar. 26	London, Portman Rooms (Dorset-street entrance) St. Leonards-on-Sea, Royal Conquest Hall Stockbridge, National School Devonport, Dock Gates	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massey Miss A. Pankhurst Miss Nell Kenney	5 p.m. 3 & 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. Dinner Hour 8 p.m.
Mar. 27	Northampton, Market Square Leeds, 4, De Grey-street London, Lady Knyvet's Drawing-room Meeting Bradford, 57, Southfield-square Bradford, Heaton, Drawing-room Meeting Worcester Leeds, 4, De Grey-street Plymouth, Market Place	Miss Sidley Miss Gawthorpe Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss A. Pankhurst Miss A. Pankhurst Miss Keevil, Miss Barrett Miss M. Gawthorpe Miss N. Kenney	8 p.m. 8 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 7 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m.
Mar. 28	Flooston, Wakefield Bradford, Horton-lane Glasgow, 141, Bath-street, "At Home"	Miss A. Pankhurst Miss A. Pankhurst Miss Helen Fraser	6.30 p.m. 5.30 p.m.
Mar. 29	Leeds, Belgrave Chapel P.S.A.	Miss M. Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
Mar. 30	London, Portman Rooms Hamilton, Parliamentary Debating Association Leeds, Demonstration Meeting Brixton, Conservative Association	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss H. Fraser Miss Mary Gawthorpe Mrs. Drummond	4-6 7 p.m. 8 p.m.
Mar. 31	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture Leeds, Albert Hall Wellingborough Hereford, Corn Exchange	Miss Elizabeth Robins Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe Miss Sidley Miss Keevil, Miss Barrett	8.30 p.m. 3 & 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m.

Important Future Event.

June 21	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3 p.m.
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